HOLDING THE FORT

Dear Mr. Gerald,

Thank you very much for your letter which was very warmly received. You will indeed have many things to relate about Persia and Iraq, upon your much wished for return. Also you will be surprised to find me writing upon a typewriter which I have been lent to cope with my very multifarious duties in the H.G. This week, every morning I have helped McGregor in the garden, now that he is single-handed. I have greased the car on the chocks. I have oiled your cricket bat and cleaned your gun. Your squash racquet, however, has been lent to some officers near here as I knew you would have wished.

That, with some firewatching, and the H.G. has filled up my week, except that I stopped the Housekeeper from giving your grey Ascot top hat for salvage, and made her replace the mothballs inside it. If you will excuse the sentiment, Sir, that hat is a symbol of the England which goes on for ever, even if sometimes interrupted. It will therefore remain in abeyance like the six bottles of Rose's Lime Juice I am keeping for the celebration, consequent on your return.

I must stop now to help Cook peel the potatoes which in peace-time would be most derogatory, but not so in days of national austerity.

Yours faithfully,

Albert Hawkins

Sergeant, Home Guard.

ROSE'S — *There is no substitute*

World Review

INCORPORATING REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY EDWARD HULTON

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ARE MORALS DETERIORATING?

SEVEN QUESTIONS BY DOROTHY ROYAL

ANSWERED BY

BERNARD SHAW

MUCH ALARM!

MISS ROYAL: *Much alarm has been created by the repeated statements of Cabinet Ministers, social workers, etc., etc., that since the war both prostitutes and venereal diseases have alarmingly increased. In your opinion, Mr. Shaw, have these social evils increased, or decreased since fifty years ago, when Jack the Ripper's murders shocked the community?*

MR. SHAW: I don't know. In the nineteenth century it was claimed that the Contagious Diseases Acts, involving the physical examination of prostitutes by the police, had effected a decrease in venereal disease. But Herbert Spencer showed that they had, on the contrary, checked the decrease, and Mrs. Josephine Butler rose up and swept the Acts into the dustbin. In America, Flexner showed that the examinations were themselves contagious. The subject is both difficult and dangerous; and, like Mr. Bevin, I have too much else on hand to leave me time for the statistical inquiry which would enable me to answer your question.

WAGES OR CHURCHES?

MISS R.: *I remember my old friend, John Burns, saying that the raising of women's and girls' wages through trades unionism, and factory and social legislation, had done more to diminish prostitution than all the efforts of the Churches and social organisations put together. Do you agree with this?*

MR. S.: Of course I do. Society in the lump gets what it pays for. If women of any degree of personal attractiveness find that they can get only twopence-halfpenny for an hour of honest drudgery and from a shilling to a guinea for an act of prostitution, elementary schoolmistresses will tell you what they told Burns, that girls who are in the least pretty 'go wrong' when they do not marry, and sometimes when they do. Every increase in women's wages produces a decrease in prostitution.

INEVITABLE?

MISS R.: *As we live in a society in which it is impossible for a very large number of both sexes to marry, owing to economic conditions, and since human beings have great sexual needs, do you think that prostitution, probably with regulations as on the Continent, is more or less inevitable?*

MR. S.: Prostitution is not a question of sex: it is a question of money. Sexual desire may and does produce a good deal of sexual immorality; but as it is highly selective, and never prefers rich people as such to poor ones, it does not encourage nor produce prostitution, which is the sale of one's person for money to the highest bidder, however unattractive. It is in fact a rival to prostitution—a competing rival—an alternative to it; so you must not confuse the two.

MARCH OF TIME

MISS R.: *How important a factor was prostitution at the time you wrote* Mrs. Warren's Profession, *and how important is it today?*

MR. S.: You really must ask the police. They have the information: I have not. I repeat, the relaxation of sexual morality which always accompanies war is bad for Mrs. Warren's business, as young soldiers get from normally respectable women for nothing what in peacetime they pay Mrs. Warren to procure for them.

VALUE OF BEVERIDGE

MISS R.: *Lecky, the historian, in his oft-quoted passage in which he describes the prostitute as 'the pale priestess of humanity', implies that he considers prostitution as a necessity of the human race. Do you agree with him?*

MR. S.: No. Prostitution is rightly called White Slavery. Society can be organised, as Sir John Orr or Sir William Beveridge can explain to you, so that nobody will be driven by poverty to live by prostitution. Such organisation, now a familiar ideal and a subject of planning in all civilised countries, was not within Lecky's purview. In his day the mother in the plutocracy regarded the prostitute as the safeguard of her daughter's chastity. She held that if the rich bachelors could not purchase prostitutes they would seduce the virgins of their own class. But that is past history: modern sociology has left Lecky behind.

NOT FOR THE A.T.S.!

MISS R.: *Recently asked in Parliament as to the desirability of setting up an inquiry to devise measures for bringing prostitutes under the scope of National Service, Mr. Bevin replied: 'The suggested inquiry would raise many social and medical issues extending beyond the spheres of my Department.' Do you infer from this that the Government intend to shirk dealing with this question, save by hysterical propaganda about V.D.?*

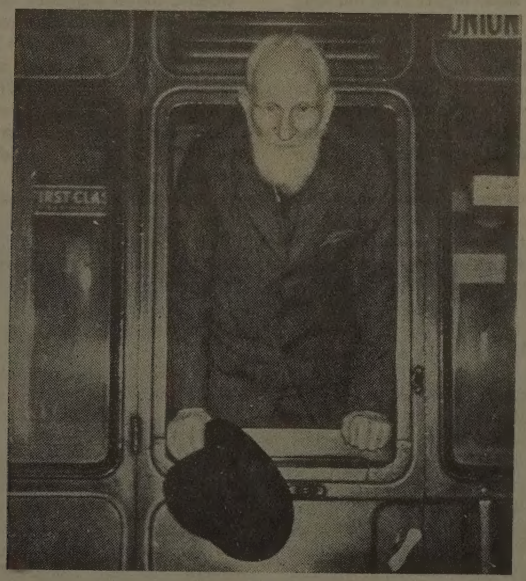
MR. S.: No Government will make trouble for itself by dealing with this question if it can possibly help it. I know of no hysterical propaganda, unless you mean the protests of utterly unreasonable taboo-ridden people, against the subject being mentioned at all.

NO MAKESHIFTS!

MISS R.: *Finally, assuming that you had the power of a dictator, what legislation would you introduce to abolish this great social evil?*

MR. S.: Make me a dictator, and I shall perhaps have to give my whole mind to what I have already told you is a very difficult and dangerous subject. I shall not shoot Niagara until I come to it. Such questions are answerable only in the opinions, or rather the delusions, of people who have no notion of their magnitude, and think any Sancho Panza can solve them by an impromptu Solomonic judgment.

All I can say is that I should in any case aim at making both men and women independent of prostitution as a means of livelihood, and see what would happen then. As to Contagious Diseases Acts, licensing of brothels, medical certificates to prostitutes, organisation of prostitution as a State service, and putting camp followers in wartime on the footing of pioneers, I should regard them as abominable makeshifts and hotbeds of V.D. I should direct my reforming energy to marriage and divorce, and not waste it on quack remedies and their addicts.



'I must be off now. I hope you are satisfied'

MUST MIGHT BE RIGHT?

MAJOR GUY LLOYD, M.P. for East Renfrewshire

We have been hearing much of late of conferences between the stronger powers among the United Nations upon whose co-ordinated efforts the speed and conclusiveness of a common victory must, of course, largely depend.

The smaller and weaker nations among our allies have been left out of these discussions, which they have been wistfully and eagerly following round the verges of that Tom Tiddler's ground upon which, apparently, only a great power is allowed to tread.

What are the hopes and fears of the smaller and weaker nations of Europe, who have sacrificed and suffered so much? How eagerly they are looking forward to the day of their liberation from the yoke of the aggressor, to the reconstruction of their shattered homelands, to the restoration of their national sovereignty, to their political independence, and to their security and protection against future wars or future aggression! Upon these aspirations all their hopes are centred. Their eyes are turned primarily towards this country, whose honour and prestige in Europe has never stood higher in all our long history.

But it would be idle to deny that, while they look to us with wistful eagerness and hope, there is also growing among them the spirit of grave anxiety and some misgiving, lest in our desire to please and appease the strong we may neglect or forget our historic rôle as protector of the weak.

Power is to the strong, but what the smaller nations are still uncertain of is whether the strong will use that power to seek their own interests, to increase their power, or to look after their own alleged security, leaving the smaller powers in Europe the necessity of attaching themselves as satellites to the strongest power in their neighbourhood, at the cost of their political freedom.

It may be said at once that the speech of Field-Marshal Smuts did nothing to allay these misgivings of the smaller nations, but on the contrary has caused serious alarm and despondency among them. The smaller nations realise full well that they are at the mercy of the great powers, who will have made the greatest contribution, though not necessarily the greatest sacrifices, to victory. The question whether power will be used wisely or not, no one can as yet answer; but this much we can say—that upon the answer will depend the peace of Europe and the security of succeeding generations.

The first acid test of the intentions of the great powers will come as their victorious armies commence their conquering drive towards the German frontiers through the territory of their smaller allies, whose countries at present lie prostrate under the tyranny of the *Herrenvolk*.

What measure of co-operation is proposed in this gradual liberation of the territory of our allies as between the liberator and liberated? In the West there seems little doubt that strong inter-allied commissions on which Britain, Russia and America may be equally represented, along with representation from the liberated country itself, can be assured. If some such arrangement could be devised in Italy, it is even more essential in a friendly allied country. A genuine atmosphere of liberation and co-operation must permeate the forward movement of the allied armies in the west and likewise in the east.

General Smuts suggested that Britain might find post-war ties and alliances among some of the smaller nations in Western Europe, but other smaller nations in Europe are asking themselves: what is to be their future? Will no freedom be given to them to join such an alliance and to integrate their policy with that of Great Britain, or will that be forbidden to them? Has it been agreed upon in the councils of the great that they must revolve around and within the orbit of the nearest Great Power, without any say in their own future?

The nations of the middle zone would, if they were allowed, naturally group themselves for their own security and greater strength vis-à-vis their German neighbours into a confederation.

Russia has, however, made it perfectly clear that such a confederation would be anathema to her and she would not tolerate it. The idea arouses suspicions associated with the unhappy phrase *Cordon Sanitaire*.

In his last speech General Smuts warned us to beware of catchwords and clichés. Let us examine the catchword *Cordon Sanitiare* objectively.

The phrase originated in France in the years after the last war and expressed the fears of Western European countries lest the revolutionary doctrines emanating from Russia should

spread in a westerly direction. They then desired to erect a protecting wall against them.

All this has entirely changed and today nobody would dream of excluding Russia from Europe. On the contrary, it is obvious that the co-operation of Russia in the future shaping of Europe is necessary and desirable.

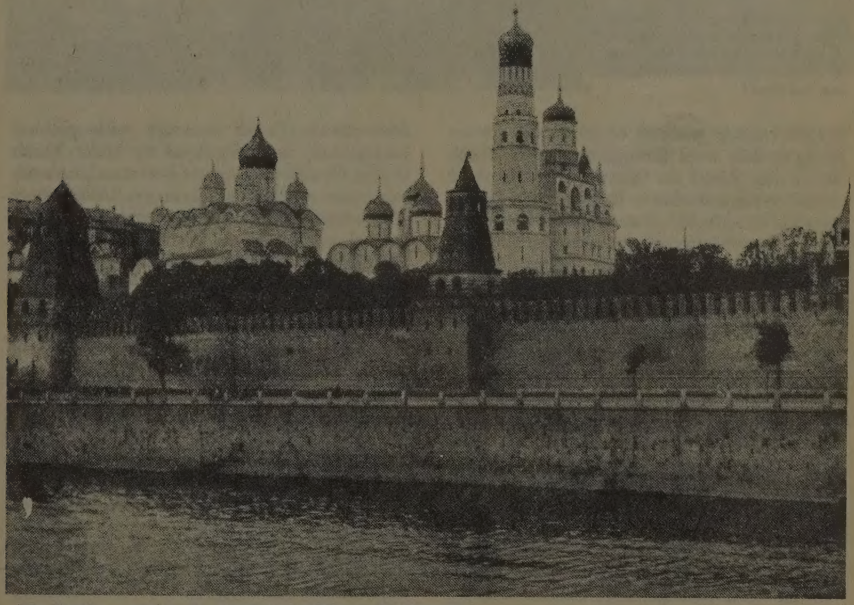
The assumption that a confederation of states in the middle zone would be directed against Russia is ridiculous. It might rather be assumed that it would be in Russia's own interests that her outer defences against Germany should be well organised and strong in order to absorb the first shock of future German aggression, although, indeed, it would be difficult to imagine that Germany would ever again be so mad as to attack Russia.

She might well, however, have aggressive designs upon the nations of the intermediate zone, such as Poland or Czecho-Slovakia which, if they were deprived of the power to increase their strength by confederation, might be again the victims of the German policy of conquest one by one.

The idea of organising the middle zone on federative lines would undoubtedly provide a sense of security to the smaller nations in that part of Europe, more especially if they could not look to Britain for their natural protection against aggression. If these nations are encouraged to unite, they would in fact unite for a better and more secure future and not in fact against anybody, least of all against their mighty Eastern neighbour, against whom in any case they could never hope to prevail.

The smaller nations of Europe are hoping that the terms of unconditional surrender which will ultimately be dictated to our enemies will be the result of joint agreement between all the United Nations, both strong and weak, and they expect also that no peace terms, especially territorial readjustments, will be dictated by any ally to any other ally. They do not accept the doctrine that Might is Right. They believe that no desire for appeasement of the great and powerful, no amount of admiration for gallantry or achievement, no desire to repay a debt of gratitude can make it so. Such debts must not be claimed by the strong at the expense of the weak.

They are hoping that Britain, too, will accept without hesitation their viewpoint on this matter. If Great Britain, from whatever motive, accepts the doctrine that Might is Right and therefore is entitled to its claims, and if she allows any of her weaker allies to be sacrificed to such a doctrine, then they declare the war will have been fought in vain. And they will be right.



The Kremlin, symbol of the oriental inscrutability of the Muscovite

HITLER YOUTH!

JOSEF GETA

Ceremony of laying corner stone of Hitler Youth hostel at Berchtesgaden, on the Führer's birthday—the horror of a crowd of children thirsting for war and blood!

NEARLY ninety per cent of the enemy we are facing in Italy went through the Hitler Youth before they joined the German army. We have to pay certain attention to their past! How great are their experiences of modern warfare? How big is the moral effect of their defeat in Southern Italy and Russia? And what is their outlook on the future?

When the Hitler Youth was formed in 1929, the first active fighting youth organisation made its appearance. Brown shirts, with the swastika on the right arm, were their uniform; their mission was to cause street fighting with other youth organisations, to make speech demonstrations, like *Juda verrecke* (Perish Juda), and to draw attention in public to the Nazi Party.

Through financial influence from the Nazi Party, they soon received money and uniforms, both of which were very attractive for the unemployed youth who saw the material advantage of joining the Hitler Youth.

In the years 1932 and 1933 the first so-called *Heim-Abende* (social evenings with political background) were organised by Hitler Youth staff in the different parts of Berlin and, later on, over the whole of Germany. After each *Heim-Abende* they found out where there was a youth meeting of the Communist or Socialist Party in progress, in order to start an open provocation of their enemies. If they did not feel strong enough to succeed in their aggressive plans, however, they waited at street corners for individual leaders, knocked them down, and seized the notebooks in which were the addresses of other leaders, who would get the same treatment.

When Goebbels took over the *Gau* (District) of Berlin he paid special attention to the Hitler Youth organisation. We always saw him surrounded by children in the official photographs given out by the Press Department of the Nazi Party during the so-called *Kampf Zeit* (that is the name given by the Nazis to the period when they started street fighting against their political opponents in 1930–1933). Goebbels tried to give

Boy Scouts celebrate Empire Day in London—the first Youth Movement in the world still stands for a saner brand of patriotism

the impression that only the Nazi Party was taking care of the future of youth; and thus the distribution of sweets to children outside schools by the Nazi Party was quite a well-known propaganda method. Even Crown Prince William, the eldest son of the ex-Kaiser, did this outside a school in Oels (Silesia).

But shortly after the Nazi Party came into power Goebbels found new methods of using the Hitler Youth organisation for internal propaganda. To give the German people a great impression of what they had achieved in killing the 'Bolshevik Danger' in Germany, and to offer a hopeful future to the youth, Goebbels started the first Hitler Youth film, *Hitler Junge Quex*, which was shown in every picture house in Germany—and school classes were ordered to attend this performance. To make this picture still more effective, Goebbels showed, by way of comparison, the unemployed British youth demonstration in Hyde Park and the youth of France striking for Léon Blum's scheme of forty hours' work a week.

At the International Film Exhibition in Venice in 1934 the picture *Hitler Junge Quex* was one of the films which Germany put on the foreign market.

The importance of maintaining good foreign relations in order to start fifth-column activities was fully realised by the German Foreign Office, which, till 1935, was under the control of professional diplomats from the Junker class who had served in the Second Reich, under the Weimar Republic, and again in the Third Reich.

The Hitler Youth leaders played an important part in this policy. The exchange of students with students from the U.S.A., Britain and France was already in operation before the Nazis came into power. The idea had been to bring the different nations closer together, to encourage understanding between the various countries, and to discuss future problems. When the Hitler Youth leaders took over these organisations they still used the old names. Thus, the well-known V.D.A. *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (League of Germans living abroad) continued its

activities, and Frau Dr. Maria Klausner was still the chairman of the committee. A Dr. Fredericus, my former French and Latin professor, played an important part in this movement.

The exchange of pupils now became more or less directed by the Hitler Youth staff. The lieutenants of Baldur von Schirach, Axmann and Klein, organised the exchange. The students who went to France or Britain no longer came to gain experience, and to spread national understanding between nations. Their message was now—'In Germany we have this and that; in Germany this institution is far better than yours; you must come to Germany.' And, when the British and French students came to Germany, they were immediately introduced to Goebbels and Baldur von Schirach; and the whole Nazi propaganda machine started to work. If possible students were taken to see the *Parteitag* (Party Rally) in Nürnberg. The fifth column had been born.

The Hitler Youth organisers then tried to keep in touch with the individual British, French or American student. This was not done through a high official of the Hitler Youth. The friend in Germany was only a nameless member of Hitler Youth, one of the millions who seemed to be quite harmless. When the stage of correspondence about weather, the parent's health, etc., came to an end, Hans began to ask whether his friend belonged to a political party, and of course which party, how many members it had, and what its influence would be. Another visit followed, and if the individual person from any foreign country was found suitable, then the Hitler Youth staff tried to use him for active propaganda for Nazi Germany in his own country. Otherwise the correspondence ended, because 'Hans had so many important duties to perform for his Fatherland that he had hardly any time to spare for private correspondence.'

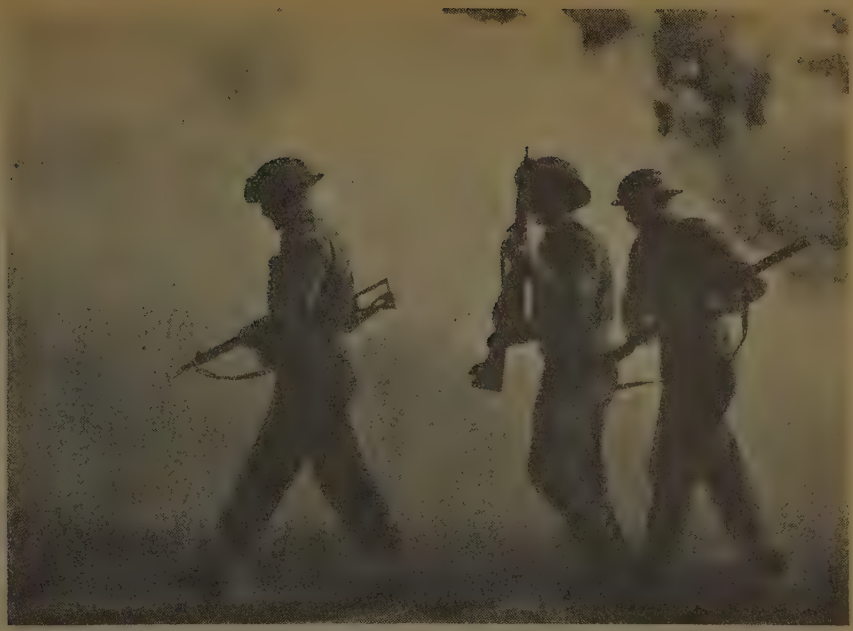
The main aim of the Nazi movement is the control of the education of children, both female and male, the inculcation of the spirit of sacrifice for the sake of the 'destiny' of the 'super nation'.

The Nazi Youth, which we shall meet as a fighting unit, or as an army of occupation, or as frontier guards, has already played a political part during the past ten years. With the rise of Nazism to power in Germany, almost a whole generation has been infected by the political idea of destruction. Until December 1936, the Hitler Youth was unofficially the State Youth Organisation of Germany. A few right-wing organisations with influential financial power still dared to exist also. But when the Hitler Youth feared that these little movements might become powerful in Nazi Germany, a new law was introduced to the effect that only Hitler Youth was to be allowed to exist.

The political power of this Youth movement was progressively extended. From 1933–1936 German youth still had a chance to avoid membership. After 3 December 1936, however, they had not; being otherwise barred from the Gymnasiums, the High Schools, or even from entering a University. A seven-year-old boy had to join the *Pimpfe* (the junior branch) and at the age of twelve years he automatically entered the H.J. (Hitler Youth). Three times a week they had lectures on 'Nazism', and on the *Führerprinczp* (ideology of leadership), and the so-called *Wehrwissenschaft* (Military Science) was introduced to a boy of fourteen years of age. One of the requirements of this *Wehrwissenschaft* was studying the organ of the Germany Army, *Deutsche Wehr*.

With all these experiences the average member of the Hitler Youth began to take an interest in world politics. According to the views he had been taught during the *Heim-Abende* Germany was always right, and the Führer would make Germany great. It was over this that the great dispute between children and parents often began. The father of one or other young member of the Hitler Youth would make a remark against a measure introduced by the Government. At the next *Heim-Abende* the son would repeat this criticism and, when his leader, or the so-called *Rottenführer*, asked him who had given him the idea that the Führer's rules and regulations were made against the people, the boy, without thinking, would reply '. . . my father said it last night . . .' The Youth leader then had a perfect opportunity to make a report against that particular boy's father, hoping thereby to get further promotion. The report was duly received by the *Bannführer* (gangleader) who, in his turn, forwarded it, with further details, to the Hitler Youth Department which worked hand in hand with the Gestapo. The result was the imprisonment of the father for spreading false rumours. In cases thought to be dangerous the father was sent to a concentration camp. But this depended entirely on the report of the *Bannführer*. From this example we can clearly see the importance of Hitler Youth as a political weapon in Nazi Germany!

We have not only to destroy the leaders of this movement; every member of the Hitler Youth should go through a re-education of at least one to two years. Only then will he be able to find his way back to civilisation.



The boys in Italy. Will their struggle bring justice?

WHY GO ON FIGHTING?

ROBIN MAUGHAM

WHY are we fighting this war? In the autumn of 1939 the people of this country would have given different answers to that question. One would say he was fighting to protect his home; another would declare that he was fighting for Democracy. The Government had stated that we were fighting against evil things, but remained silent about the good things for which we *were* fighting. After Dunkirk we all knew that we were fighting for our very lives; and our hearts were warmed by knowing that Britain was the last bastion of freedom. Then as the immediate danger to this land receded, some of us began to long for a positive charter of principles for which we could fight at home or abroad. And at last, on 14 August 1941, that Charter came, bringing with it a faith which could burn not only in the towns of Britain or in the Western Desert, but in the countries occupied and devastated by the forces of evil. Here at last was the light which could guide us through toil and blood and darkness. And if we were asked why we were fighting this war, the Atlantic Charter provided our answer. Yet gradually, as the war has become more complicated, our motives have been obscured by our dealings in North Africa, Italy, Spain and Central Europe. Arrangements made abroad with the enemies of freedom are justified on the grounds of expediency; criticism is muffled on the grounds of secrecy, and the importance of unity among the Allies. Today, we soldiers are told that we do not wish to mix politics with our fighting; and our brothers in civilian clothes are confused when independence of the Government is severely rebuked.

For what, then, are we fighting?

There are clever magnates in Britain who furnish us daily with this answer: 'You're fighting for your homes and families,' they say, 'that's what you love best in the world. You're

fighting for a safe job with a decent wage. All this talk about principles is bunkum! Why should we meddle in the internal politics of a foreign country? Let's back any man or Party abroad so long as it shortens the war. What we must do is to get this war over and done with, so that we can get back to our jobs.'

This argument, which is also found in isolationist circles in the U.S.A., is futile, if only for the reason that if we do not care now about principles in foreign policy, our homes and families will directly suffer sooner or later.

At the end of the Napoleonic wars, when we might have acquired half the world, Castlereagh wrote: 'I am sure our reputation on the Continent, as a feature of strength, power and confidence, is of more real moment to us than any such acquisitions which might be made.' He knew that to increase our reputation by an act of generosity was 'to cement our prestige with something deeper and more durable than power alone.'

During the last century Britain's material force has diminished. But this country's power is based upon reputation, while the reputation of Germany and of Japan is based on power. Our strength lies more in our love of freedom and honesty than in our wealth. For was it not lack of moral force which weakened this country between these last two wars rather than lack of physical or economic force? Was it not the policy of *appeasement* which diminished our prestige, rather than lack of guns or butter?

Since the Statute of Westminster, no legal bonds have tied the Dominions to Britain. The strength of the greatest force for good in the world, the British Commonwealth of Nations, is united, not by material interest, but by one moral force. If Britain's power was weaker than it has ever been at the time of Munich, it was stronger than it has ever been during the days after Dunkirk. We had few soldiers or guns or tanks. But we were strong because our cause was just; and our stand for freedom was uniting the new world.

After the war this country will not be wealthy, because it has lost so much of its income from investments abroad; it will not be rich in manpower because the war will have taken its toll. Our strength will lie in the reputation we create during this war, which must be constantly maintained. If we appease the forces of evil, if we stand by and make no protest at an outrage of the principles of the Atlantic Charter for fear of offending an ally, if we put expediency before justice, and do not listen to the voice of our conscience, we may win a quick battle, but we will lose the struggle against evil in the long run. We are fighting against a strong creed, and if our moral strength is inferior to that of the enemy, long after we have defeated Germany and Japan, totalitarianism may triumph in this country.

Yet various magnates, encouraged by the falsehood which propaganda dictates, and credulity encourages, daily tell us to forget principle, and to concentrate on winning the war as quickly as possible. It would be just as sensible to tell us to cut off our right hand in order to get a square meal, since the history of our diplomacy during the last twenty years shows that what at the time appears morally wrong does in the long run prove to have been diplomatically inexpedient. We may gain temporary satisfaction by backing Darlan or Badoglio, or by obsequiousness to the headstrong dictates of an ally. But, as the result, the sum total of our power will be decreased, because our power is derived more from prestige than from material strength. Every time we play at power politics we are playing into the hands of the enemy.

The principles for which the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations are fighting have been declared in the Atlantic Charter. If we intend to betray those principles for the sake of immediate material gain, or for fear of any country, *or we allow our Government to do so*, then it were better we had never declared war against 'evil things', and it were better we stopped fighting now, to avoid any further useless sacrifices. But if we intend to abide by those principles, then we must tell every nation that the United States and the United Kingdom:

1. '. . . Desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.'
2. '. . . Respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.'
3. '. . . Hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.'

The spirit of the Charter is definite, *and allows of no compromise at any price*. We must tell every nation that this is the freedom and equality of all people for which we are fighting now, and for which we will always fight.

PLANNING—ANY QUESTIONS?

MAX LOCK

Readers of *World Review* have recently raised a large number of questions about Planning, and we therefore give below a comprehensive summary of planning activities in Great Britain. (See particulars of our Planning Information Bureau and Competition, page 19)

THE BACKGROUND

TALK of post-war town and country planning is familiar enough. How it is to be carried into effect, and by whom, is not so well understood. This article attempts to explain, in a very general way, how town and country planning works.

To start, we shall do well to remind ourselves that planning is in its infancy. Its elder brother—Public Health—during the last hundred years has had lavished upon it the resources of science, of administration and of detailed legislation—raising the standard of sanitation, building and equipping hospitals and clinics, instituting first-rate medical public services in every large town, and finally laying down a comprehensive programme of future public health development in the recent White Paper. In this way Sir William Beveridge's 'Giant Disease' has been in certain measure held at bay. But the equally menacing 'Giant Squalor' has yet to be faced! This is the planner's task. The same resources are now being brought to bear on the creation of a decent physical environment as have been harnessed to the making of a healthy nation. Indeed, *the campaign for health can only finally be won on the field of environment.*

Twentieth-century planning is a matter that concerns intimately the man in the street, because it starts and ends with the needs of the individual, both as a person and as a member of the community. But the intelligent citizen will be the better able to see that his needs are met by his Town Council and his Government if he has some idea as to how the planning machinery works—what resources are available, and how they can be brought into play in eradicating the blight and inconvenience that has characterised so much of our city and country life.

Now the warfare against squalor and ugliness has for long been purely *defensive*. Legislation has been mainly restrictive and negative. And as we review the Inter-war Period, we have, on the whole, to admit that the battle has been a losing one—though not so disastrous as it would have been had there been no planning legislation at all.

The year 1940, however, heralded a new strategic policy—a more *positive policy of attack*, which at the same time penetrated further into the depths of the problem. That year saw the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Location of the Industrial Population, generally known as the Barlow Report, This was followed in the next year by the Scott and the Uthwatt Reports, dealing respectively with the planning of the rural areas, and with the complex intricacies of acquisition of development rights in land and of compensation and betterment. The combined force of these, together with the Beveridge Report, coming as they did in quick succession, was sufficient to dispel for a moment the thick clouds of compromise and confusion; to enable us to get a brief glimpse of the better ordered environment of the future, and to see what is needed if we are to lay the right economic and social foundation for physical replanning. But, as we know, these reports so far remain in their pigeon holes while outside the fog of difficulty gathers dangerously.

Now in the medical field we realise that an unhealthy complexion is cured, not by the use of cosmetics or ointments, but by purifying the blood stream, and by healthy distributions within the body. The cure of the superficial blight in our cities and villages is equally radical. *We must get the whole civic organism right first.* This relationship of planning to health is by no means purely figurative but real. For it is, after all, out of the Ministry of Health that today's planning powers have emerged.

ADMINISTRATION

Town and country planning is administered by the Local Authorities, either singly in the case of large towns—or jointly in the case of less-populated areas. These planning authorities up to 1941 were sanctioned by, and answerable to, the Ministry of Health which, in addition to this control of planning, also administered the health services, as well as housing and local government administration generally. (It will be remembered that prior to 1919 the Ministry of Health was called the Local Government Board.)

The Ministry of Health is, in effect, the parent of planning, carrying for 33 years in its Planning

Department the embryonic Ministry of Town and Country Planning, which came somewhat painfully to birth in 1942, when Mr. W. S. Morrison was made the first Minister of Town and Country Planning, and assumed responsibility for the administration of statutory planning schemes throughout the country.

But planning is too wide a subject to be concentrated into a single Ministry. Or shall we put it that no one Ministry has been given the total responsibility for planning?

The Ministry of Town and Country Planning certainly has the largest share of responsibility, especially now that it has enjoined upon the local authorities the task of preparing statutory schemes to cover the whole country. But housing, which after all is a very important part of planning, is still administered by the Ministry of Health, while many aspects of building construction and materials come under the Ministry of Works. Classified roads are administered by the Ministry of War Transport; farming and fishing by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries; canals, docks and certain factories by the Board of Trade; and schools by the Board of Education. In addition to these, there are the Commissioners of Crown Lands, the Home Office, and the Postmaster General, who must be consulted on the matters affecting the Departments they administer.

Yet, with all these Government Departments, we do not get down to the root of the problem. We have no over-riding National Resources Planning Committee, such as exists in the U.S.A., which can appraise and lay down the economic and social foundations of the national structure. This, it may ultimately appear, might be Lord Woolton's task as Minister of Reconstruction—a Ministry which it is hoped will develop itself into a strong co-ordinator of the many conflicting claims of Government Departments and private interests.

To take an example: if your Local Authority owns land on the outskirts of the town, and wishes to build a small housing estate adjacent to a trunk road, the plans will first have to be passed by the Local Town Planning Committee, which may be a Joint Board of several Local Authorities combined. While considering the scheme, they will first of all have to submit it to the Ministry of Town and Country Planning over any question of zoning (i.e. allocation of land for specific use such as housing, industry, open space, etc.). At the same time the Ministry of Transport will have to be consulted on proposals affecting the main road; the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries on any suggestions that may mean using good agricultural land for housing development; the Board of Education on the design and grant for the school and any educational building; and the Ministry of Health for the sanction of the design of layout and subsidy for the houses. The Postmaster-General may have to be consulted over extension of telephone services, and statutory undertakers over gas, water and electricity supplies. All this, to say nothing of the private landowners and holders of rights of way or grazing, or of 'easements' vested in some of the land ownerships in the scheme.

This gives an illustration of what has to be done before a single brick is laid or a trench dug; and it sometimes takes two or three years!

However, realising among other things the difficulties of direct dealings on matters of detail between the local authorities and Government Departments, the new Ministry of Town and Country Planning set up a number of *Regional* Planning Offices, twelve in all, corresponding to the Civil Defence Regions of this country. Furthermore as recently as 3 March 1944, the Ministry issued a circular to Local Authorities and Joint Town and Country Planning Committees requesting that the transport, agricultural and siting aspects of housing should be handed over to their respective Regional Planning Officer to deal with, who for all areas in his region would ascertain the opinions of the Ministries concerned, and in this way expedite the preparatory stages of housing programmes over a wide area. This should prove to be a good step in the right direction.

Apart from the many difficulties of delay and of having to make the most of Government Departmentalism, there are other problems that confront the planner. One of these is the difficulty connected with local boundaries, or rather the multiplicity of historically established boundaries that no longer represent the *real* limit of influence of a town or of a county. Another is the question of the distribution of industry and of the people who work in it. In considering this, such matters as the changing size and age structure of the population have to be taken into account. There is also the question of the right balance of industries within a region and of the inter-relationship within the region of the different types of towns which compose it.

The region must be viewed as a whole, as a sort of grid or network of live arteries from which flow the vital services of transport, piped services, power and communication. This web is set in a rural background and is linked up by the towns which are the knots or nodal points of the web—in reality very complex junction boxes gathering up the resources of the region and of the soil and redistributing them for consumption in another (manufactured) form.

The Housing Centre, showing its planning bookstall and exhibition sheets

When we take a bird's-eye or stratosphere view of regions themselves, we see them as part of the great national network or grid. Over a period of time we see in these regions tensions and compressions arising as a result of such things as constant changes in occupational balance; we see the rise and decline of particular industries—coal-mining, ship-building, steel or cotton manufacture, motor-car production and a host of others; and we see the continual shift of population from one region to another (from the North East, and South Wales, to the South Midlands and London areas). All these things require to be kept constantly under review by the planner and above all by a National Body, which again brings us back to the cardinal importance of making the most of our new Ministry of Reconstruction and quickly equipping it to act effectively as a comprehensive National Resources Planning Board, co-ordinating the changing structure of regional and local resources.

THE TOWN PLANNING PROFESSION

We now must consider those who in the first place have to do the work—the town planners—who, though small in number, are the chief technicians of the job.

Town planners are those who have qualified by professional examination as Members, or Associate Members, of the Town Planning Institute. This is the professional body, corresponding to such Associations as the Royal College of Surgeons, or the Royal Institute of British Architects. There is, however, a certain difference which should be explained.

With very few exceptions, town planners are recruited from other professions—mostly surveyors, engineers, architects, and a few legal members. And it is hoped that, before long, sociologists, geographers and economists will also be attracted to the profession. In 1943 those who sat and passed the Final Examination conducted by the Town Planning Joint Examination Board comprised 46·3 % architects, 37·9 % civil engineers, 12·6 % surveyors, 3·2 % others.

There is nothing to prevent a student taking a town planning degree without any knowledge of these other professions. This is shown by the 3·2 %. But it must be remembered that town planning is chiefly a post-graduate discipline (like radiology in the medical profession, which can only be learnt after basic medical qualifications). For instance, an architect, because he can build and design houses, is not necessarily a town planner, unless he develops an extension of his skill into wider human technical and administrative fields, bringing with it a measure of fusion of all the various skills we have mentioned that contribute to the art and service of town planning. Thus, after five years of training in a basic profession, a further two are allowed for town planning qualifications.

THE TOWN PLANNER'S TRAINING

The Schools of Planning to which the Town Planning Institute grants recognition are established without exception in, or in association with, the Schools of Architecture, which themselves are departments in Universities, or in Technical or Art Colleges. The whole system of training for planning and architecture, however, is not above criticism. It would seem more

logical for the schools of architecture to be part of the composite faculty of architecture, technics and planning, in each big city, and that the training of architects requires to be released from the strait-jacket of too much control by local colleges of art. The position at the moment is that town planning is frequently taught as an appendage to the curriculum of the architectural department of an art school. This is hardly good enough. For it means that town planning is relegated to such a subsidiary position that there is little, if any, direct representation of its interest to the local education committee.

The situation, however, is not so serious in the Universities, where greater autonomy is afforded to its departments. It is not possible here to explain further the important developments that are beginning to take place in the training of planners. It is enough to emphasise again that planning is first and foremost a pooling of skills, and depends for its efficiency upon a great degree of co-ordination and co-operation—not only between the various professions, but between these and local, regional and central government.

THE TOWN PLANNING OFFICIAL

And here, before leaving our consideration of the function of the Town Planner and the Town Planning Institute, mention should be made of a very important section of its personnel—the Local, County and Regional Planning Officers. A 'Planning Officer' is an *official* town planner, in the same way as the Borough Architect or Medical Officer of Health is an official. The Planning Officer is responsible for drawing up and administering the local statutory Town Planning Scheme. It may be that the Council (or a Joint Board of the region as a whole) decide to engage an outside specialist consultant town planner who is not an official, but a private practitioner earning his living as an expert by the fees he receives for his advice. He will, in due course, put forward his proposals which, if accepted by the Council and ultimately by the Ministries we have mentioned,will be gradually implemented and administered from day to day and year to year by the Planning Officer and his staff.

TOWN PLANNING CONSULTANTS

However, because of the complexities of civic and regional structure, the Town Planning Consultants' job is rapidly becoming organised on a team work basis (as is done in the U.S.S.R.), it being impossible for one man, as has been mentioned, to be master of all the town planning skills. These consultant teams of specialists live and work in the area they are studying for, say, one year. This is happening, for instance, in the town of Middlesbrough now, which is perhaps the first corporation to embark on a comprehensive scheme of this nature. During this time a thorough diagnosis of the place is made. All sections of the community, and of the town government, are consulted; a functional network or grid of communications and services is evolved and a comprehensive plan is prepared, based on the ascertained needs of the people themselves. In other words, *planning is truly a democratic process helped by all who have something to contribute.*

This method is a new development in private practice; and in the same way we shall see changes in the field of public or official practice, for the team of outside consultants, having made their diagnosis and suggested the planning cure, it remains for the permanent planning office to carry it out over a period of years. Survey and fact-finding are continuous processes that should be applied to a working programme. This is the job of the Planning Officer's department in your town (if your town has one). It will be realised that the gradual replanning of a city is infinitely more complex a task than, say, the repairing of a ship, for a ship can be rehabilitated in dry dock. But the mechanism of a town has to be repaired while its machinery is in full motion.

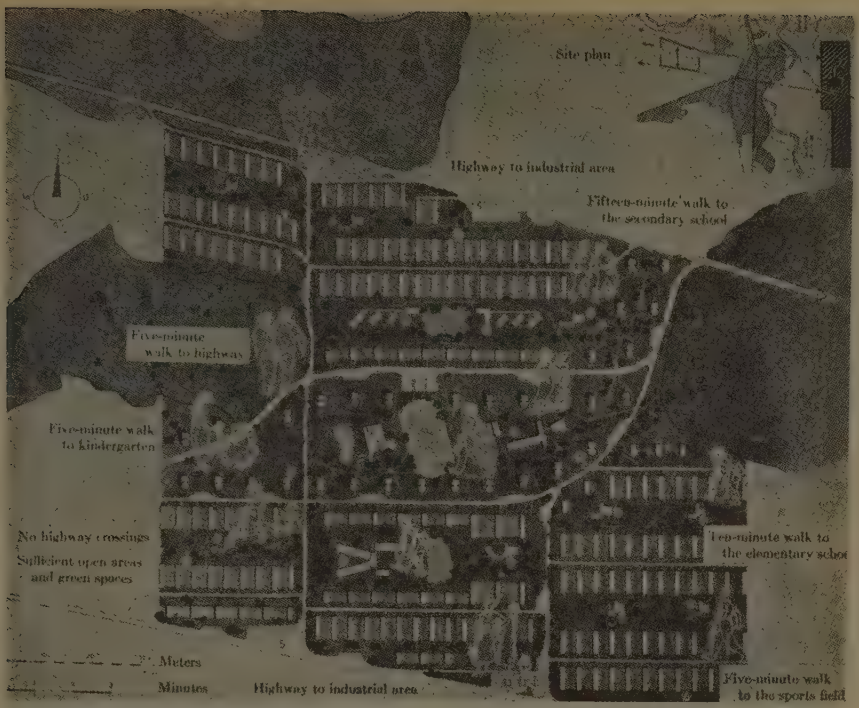
IMMINENT CHANGES

For this reason it is in the Planning Departments of towns that the biggest changes will be seen. The Planning Officer as diagnostician of the environment has as vital a task to perform as that of the Medical Officer of Health. *At present very few towns have qualified Planning Officers.* And even when they have, they are appointed to a quite subsidiary rôle under the Borough or City Engineer. This, of course, will be changed and the Planning Officer will have his own defined department to run, and function to fulfil, and will rank as a major official with the same status as the City Engineer or City Architect.

When people begin to demand that the same degree of expert skill shall be directed towards the shaping of environment as is now demanded in the field of education, of surgery, of warfare, or of justice, then we shall see not only an improvement in status and training of the planner, but a higher quality of awareness and citizenship among the people themselves.

THE TOWN PLANNING AND HOUSING PUBLICITY ASSOCIATIONS

Rightly-directed publicity is doing a great deal to deepen public awareness of these problems.



An excellent example of neighbourhood planning from pre-Hitler Germany. Dessau borough unit designed by the Bauhaus School, closed in 1936. From *Can our Cities Survive?*—J. L. SERT, C.I.A.M.

'This borough unit, composed of several neighbourhood units, was designed for the city of Dessau in Germany. The site is located between two important highways that connect this residential area with an industrial zone, allowing at the same time for necessary separation between dwellings and factories

'The buildings in this borough are of different types and heights, in accordance with the requirements of the population (families with children, married couples, bachelors). High structures and lower linear blocks are spaced and distributed according to the basic principles of proper orientation. The most important cultural and recreational services are located near the centre of the borough. Fields for sports, swimming pool, high school, and other elements are intended for the use of the whole population. Three elementary schools, nine kindergartens, four shopping centres, and several parking areas are distributed so as to be convenient for the use of individual neighbours

'Distances inside the borough unit have been calculated so that they can easily be covered on foot by children and grown-ups. A time scale in minutes accompanies the distance scale on the lower left side of this plan'

It is exactly here that another important section of the planning field plays its part. This consists of the propaganda societies and associations, which perform a double service in providing, first, a forum for the interchange of knowledge and ideas through lectures, conferences and lunch-hour meetings, and, secondly, in the publication of pamphlets, periodicals, reports and books. Such a body as the Town and Country Planning Association has stimulated public interest by planning its well-organised and well-attended conferences held frequently throughout the country. The Housing Centre, too, organised on much the same lines, specialises, among its varied activities, in preparing and sending out exhibitions on matters of housing and its allied services, such as building, public health, education, holiday camps and town planning. In addition to this, it promotes research into the structure of urban and neighbourhood life. In 1939 (with the financial aid of the Leverhulme Trust) the Housing Centre, together with the National Council of Social Service, sponsored an investigation into the planning and requirements of community centres. The most recent survey sponsored by the Housing Centre (again

with the financial help of the Leverhulme Trust, and public-spirited industrialists) was the Civic Diagnosis of the City of Hull, described in the July 1943 issue of *World Review*. Anyone interested, whatever his trade or profession, can become a member of the Housing Centre or of the Town and Country Planning Association, on payment of a guinea annual membership fee. The Housing Centre has the most complete library on housing and planning in London, at 13 Suffolk Street, S.W.1.

PRESERVATION SOCIETIES

Other bodies—the 'preservation societies'—such as the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, and the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society, give an indispensable service in guarding the natural beauties of the countryside and making them available to the public. The C.P.R.E. is perhaps best known by the famous 'cautionary guides' it has published for visitors to historic, but badly vandalised, towns.

RESEARCH GROUPS

Finally, within the scheme of things comes perhaps the latest development of all—the planning research associations and groups. These are, in this country, still in an experimental stage. They have, nevertheless, come to stay as a permanent, and most important, part of planning. We have learned much from the research departments of the Federal Housing Administration in Washington and from the city planning studies of Harvard University and New York. Indeed, the new Ministry of Town and Country Planning has set an example by setting up its own Central Research Department, and by assisting wherever possible planning research groups working under the auspices of Universities, or under regional or local authorities, or privately sponsored committees. One of the chief research bodies among the last category is the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction whose work was described in the January issue of *World Review*. It comprises the collation on a national scale of sociological, economic and geographical data in terms of physical planning needs.

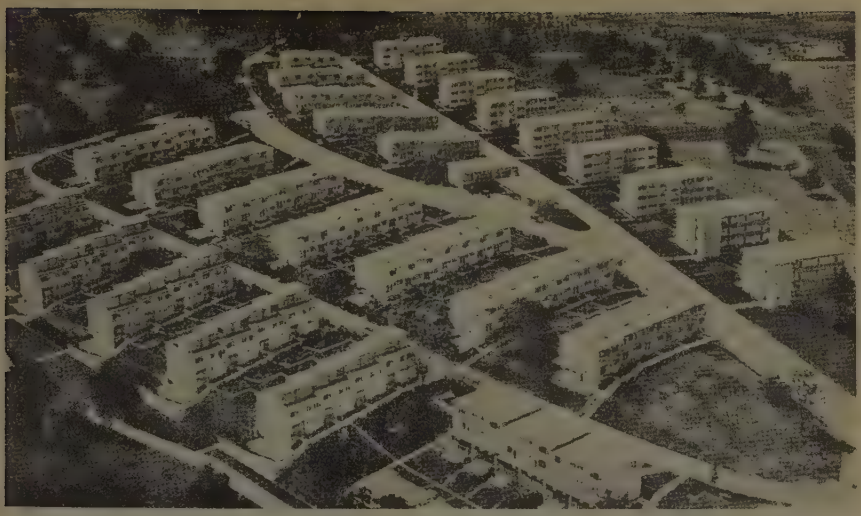
Again, on the national and regional planning levels several of the Universities are embarking on valuable research in their Departments of Geography, Sociology and Economics, where important investigations are undertaken of such subjects as the functions, growth and development of towns—the distribution of the population in relation to the physical environment, the analysis of transport facilities and world communications (e.g. ports)—and the study of the direction and volume of trade. All these academic research programmes are available to be coordinated into the general field of planning research.

On a more local level—the level of the 'region'—is the well-known West Midland Group (mentioned in the January *World Review*), an independent research association directed under the auspices of the Bournville Village Trust. As an example of detailed investigation of urban structure on the purely local level we have already mentioned the Hull Survey. All these groups are run on a co-operative basis, somewhat after the manner of the Russian planning 'brigades' of specialists who enter the area to be planned and investigate all aspects of community, neighbourhood and industrial life. We are particularly aware that in England we have a very serious urban problem. We have a very dirty nineteenth-century slate to clean. It is here that these independently-financed research associations, by virtue of their freedom from official and governmental restraints, are able to penetrate boldly down to the unexplored depths of these problems. Their chief objective is to establish by carefully-directed experiment an acceptable technique of investigation, which may reconcile the many conflicting interests, and be capable of general application to the problem of urban and regional planning in course of time. These research groups are in many respects the prototypes of the research departments which it is hoped will be established in the twelve Regional Offices of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, and in all large cities or industrial centres possessing what may be called a 'sub-regional' sphere of influence.

The various planning research groups already mentioned do not necessarily include all such activities in this country. There is, for example, also organised on a rather different basis, the well-known P.E.P. (Political and Economic Planning). This is a voluntary and independent research body, financed by subscriptions, which engages in fact-finding and fact-focusing activities on a non-party basis. It works through groups of experts who publish reports from time to time on subjects of interest.

Then there are, of course, such activities as the Agricultural Research Stations, and many scientific and other establishments whose work has a very direct connection with Town and Country Planning.

On the international scale, there is the new United Nations Food Organisation, founded as the result of the famous Hot Springs Conference. And, as another international example,



CORRECT ORIENTATION. *Houses planned for sunshine—Nenbuhl, Zurich, Switzerland. Note the flag-stoned common open spaces between the rows of terraces.* From *Can our Cities Survive?*—J. L. SERT, C.I.A.M.

U.N.R.R.A., the United Nations Body for Relief and Rehabilitation.

It remains to be re-emphasised that the *pooling of skills*, and the collaboration of experts—scientist, sociologist, architect, psychologist, technician, administrator, and a host of others, is essential in planning. And the constant focusing of all this information down to a practical planning policy can only be done *by a well-organised and properly-staffed department in every big town*—which is only the first step in the complex task of maintaining in a healthy condition the constantly changing pattern of city development.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Thus we see the main fragments of the planning picture pieced together:

1. The Government and Local Government Administration Departments—with their Planning Officers.
2. The professional private practitioners or consultants.
3. The Schools of Town Planning and Civic Design.
4. The propaganda or publicity associations, and the preservation societies.
5. The Government, University and privately sponsored research teams.
6. Finally, in the background, the international world planners, such as U.N.R.R.A.

If town planning is to be successful as a recognised service to our civilisation, we shall need to see a simultaneous strengthening of all these links in the chain that will unite a man and his family more intimately and affectionately to the physical environment, an environment he will always be free either to make or to mar—according to the standards he sets for himself, both individually as a person and collectively as a citizen. And this depends on whether or not he takes the trouble to care about planning.

PLANNING INFORMATION BUREAU

World Review will answer any questions on Planning sent to the Editor. They will be dealt with by our Planning experts. A guinea each will be awarded for the six most interesting questions. [The decision of the Editor must be accepted as final.] It is also hoped to publish some of these with the appropriate answers

A BLACK DIAMOND CLUB FOR THE MINER'S WIFE

XENIA FIELD

WHAT I want is a Welfare Centre for the Miner's Wife—a Miner's Wife's Welfare. It might be known as the Black Diamond Club. This, of course, includes the miner's daughter, mother, and sister. I want such facilities and social life as are made available to the miner at his welfare centre made available to the woman, for her own sake and for the general well-being of her home—which means that the man would greatly benefit in the end.

It is the social life, even more than the evils of the pit itself, that is wrong with the coal industry.

'Will your scheme increase immediate production?'... 'Will it increase immediate production?' ... 'Will it increase . . . ?' A question flung at me so often that it haunts me like a refrain.

'How can I honestly answer that?' I start off. 'You mean it won't increase immediate production?'—and here King Pin to Minor Official desert me to dart off in some other direction to find the unattainable—some conjuror's wand—that is to 'pop up' coal production from miserable figures to grand tonnage. It seems some people still believe in fairies.

A Miner's Wife's Welfare that might provide recreational, educational and other amenities for the womenfolk of the mining community would certainly make for happiness in many a mining village. Awaiting the provision of separate accommodation for women, arrangements might be made for setting aside rooms at the Miners' Welfare at certain times, for the exclusive use of women, especially during the afternoon.

Possible activities would fall under three main headings. First, group activities for women only. Secondly, individual activities. Thirdly, joint activities in co-operation with the men's side. There could be meetings of a general character. Debates. Discussion groups—and here the miner's wife would at last find the machinery through which she could express herself. Study. Drama. The British Drama League would, I feel sure, hold out a friendly and helpful hand. Trips to London. There are women who are grateful to the brave miner's wife, who would gladly act as hostess-guide. They have sat by the fire and had the warmth of the black diamonds. Maybe those who have appreciated the warmth might open a Black Diamond Club—where a miner's wife might stay a night in order to shop and to see London. Yes, more to think about than the pit. . . . Nothing but the pit. That is the crux of the matter. More to see and smell than the ingrained coal—in the wet clothing, and in the skin.

Unfortunately, we cannot yet give them the new houses. But we can help those who have grim surroundings to forget them from time to time. More could be done in the way of first-rate variety shows such as we have given to the Forces and as we have sent to the factories. That great personality, Mr. Harry Hicken, late of the Derbyshire Federation, told me that some few years ago a musical festival organised by the miners emptied the public houses in the neighbourhood for weeks on end. 'It wasn't just "the Night",' he explained enthusiastically, 'it was the getting ready that was grand.' There is much to be done that might ease the bitterness which we know is present, which they know they possess—the bitterness that putrifies the heart.

When I discussed the scheme with a Ministry's Regional Controller, he informed me that he held the choirs and the interest in education responsible for the peaceful attitude of the miners in one of his areas.

Everyone seems to agree that the scheme might work wonders. And yet . . . we are not away.

'Will it increase immediate production?' More than possibly. Because the maladjustment is no longer due only to wages and money. Here is a community alive more to the past than to the present—after all, the nightmare was not so long ago as all that. They are b'tter. The press with its criticism hardens the soul like a mineral. Let us give them something different. Social change — our confidence — our co-operation. Hope! We've all seen photographs of the 'star' men from the factories—let us have photographs of the 'star' miner—his shovel and his lamp. No doubt he appreciates a little glamour as much as the rest of us.

'Will it increase immediate production?'

Yes—if Society regards him as a friend—he will cease to be resentful. And, above all, if he

The miner's wife must always be ready for bad news, and not only in wartime. On this occasion thirty-five men were killed

does 'come out', stop telling him that he would fare worse at the front. He has been there in this war and in the last war—and left his honourable mark. The only trouble is that he is such a good soldier that the army won't let him go. If he comes out on strike at home, it is the struggle between society and the individual. The fact is that he feels his whole life still matters and is at stake, and that this is his one and only chance of making a stand. He'll go over the top again and again, but he doesn't mean to spend his life in the pit as conditions are today. And who can blame him? The grit and endurance of the miner are unchallengeable.

The Miners' Welfare go so far as to say that women shall be included on their post-war plate. I don't want to wait. I see no point in waiting. This is real reconstruction that can be brought about now. The post-war plate is piled up high. Too high. Don't let us wait! We cannot afford to wait. The industry is too wretched.

It is admitted by everyone who has dealings with the Miners' Welfare that the Centres where the women are allowed to 'join in' are the best Centres. 'Men aren't so good all on their own,' one old miner confessed to me. 'He's a feminist, he is,' his wife chipped in. 'When I had my teeth out he had to go and have his out, too!'

I look to the miner's wife to assist in the re-adjustment that is coming. It is surely for us to see that she has the opportunity. She is the social cement in the new building. She knows about home life and economic conditions. Through her alone we shall learn best how to understand the miner, and through her, too, the miner will learn to understand himself.

TROUBLE COMING IN PALESTINE (I)

O. S. EDWARDES

PALESTINE is likely to burst into flame more violently than ever, as soon as the bigger war has ended, unless she is handled with skill, care and honesty. Among the Jews, Arabs, and extraneous champions of both causes, certain people seem bent on that. We in England may be misinformed—we often are—but we do hear more about the smuggling and illicit buying of arms in Palestine than of efforts to forestall their use by communal agreement. In Britain and the United States there is adequate propaganda to ensure their use.

That would be a hideous tragedy of folly.

It would mean the bloody persecution of Jews—for claiming a hold on what they have been taught to call their national home—after a war to give them 'freedom from fear' in their native European homes.

It would mean the bloody persecution of Arab Palestinians—for resisting encroachment on their national home and a threat of its political expropriation—after a war for 'the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live.'

It would mean the desecration again of a Holy Land, in the eyes of those who genuinely think it holy.

Something can be done towards preventing these monstrosities, if it is done in time. We can make a contribution if we study the truth fairly, to the extent that such a many-sided truth is known. Nearly all people interested in Palestine, and many who only think or say they are, know a great deal about the case for the Zionists. They know how the case has grown, from a very reasonable demand and promise of *a* national home *in* Palestine, to a proposal that Palestine be made The National Home of the Jews and a Jewish State. They know why. And if they doubt whether they know enough, they can easily get more information from among the thousands of Jews living in this country and, I hope, welcome to it. That is one of the reasons why this article can afford to take its present form.

Another reason is that in Britain or the U.S.A. there are at least many hundreds of Jews for every Arab here, and among them are some of the ablest people we have. We have several Jews in Parliament and Congress, thank goodness, and other Members have many Jewish constituents; but there is no Arab in Parliament, probably none in Congress, and a negligible Arab vote for either. We have eminent Jew publishers here, but no Arab publishers of whom I have heard. There must be thousands of Jews fluent or versed in English for every Arab who knows the language at all. So even the bare facts of the case for the Arab majority in Palestine—Moslem and Christian—have 'escaped notice', naturally, but too often.

This is a small effort to redress the balance. It is a study, in more or less historical sequence, of documents supporting the Palestinian case, some of them being quite unfamiliar to most people on either shore of the Atlantic. To be fair to the Jews, we must remember that some of them dislike the more extreme ambitions of the Zionists. These were attacked as long ago as 1917 by, for instance, a joint committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association, and by Orthodox Jews in Palestine in recent years. But, above all, we must try to understand, or imagine, the effect of the documents I am going to quote, if we want a sense of proportion and perspective about the Palestine problem. We must appreciate British pledges if we are to behave sensibly, and not with shocked surprise, when we have cooled the frying-pan of Jewish persecution in Europe and find we are exposing Jews to the fire of Arab wrath. We must also remember the population that received the pledges about Palestine. Here are the earliest and latest reliable figures:

	1919	1942
Moslem Arabs	515,000	988,000
Christians (75% Arab) ..	62,500	126,400
'Others'	5,000	?
Jews	65,300	478,500

McMAHON CORRESPONDENCE

In the spring or early summer of 1915 there was a meeting at Damascus of two Arab secret societies—a political and a military wing of what we should now call an underground resistance movement. They wanted to be sure that, if they sided with Great Britain in a victorious war against the German and Ottoman Empires, they would get the objects of their revolt, not a mere exchange of alien masters. In the Damascus Protocol they defined the boundaries that they claimed for an independent Arab State or group of States; and, on their behalf as well as his own,

the Grand Sharif of Mecca (later King Hussein of the Hejaz) forwarded their specific proposals to the British High Commissioner in Egypt, in the opening letter of the famous McMahon Correspondence. The relevant passages in Hussein's first note ran:

'England to acknowledge the independence of the Arab countries which are bounded:

'on the *North* by the line Mersin-Adana to parallel 37° N. and thence along the line Birejik - Urfa - Mardin - Midiat - Jazirat (ibn' Umar)—Amadia to the Persian frontier;

'on the *East* by the Persian frontier down to the Persian Gulf [or Gulf of Basra];

'on the *South* by the Indian Ocean, with the exclusion of Aden whose status will remain as at present;

'on the *West* by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea back to Mersin.'

The first British reply was evasive—on the now familiar pretext that post-war problems need not be considered seriously till after the war—and Hussein virtually said so. Then on 24 October 1915 Sir Henry McMahon forwarded to him the following answer from the British Government:

'The districts of Mersin and Alexandretta and the portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the proposed limits and boundaries. With these modifications, and without prejudice to our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept these limits and boundaries, and in regard to those portions of the territories therein in which Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interests of her ally, France, I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances:

'Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Sharif of Mecca.

'When the situation admits, Great Britain will give to the Arabs her advice and will assist them to establish what may appear to be the most suitable forms of government in those various territories.

'I am convinced that this declaration will assure you beyond all possible doubts of the sympathy of Great Britain towards the aspirations of her traditional friends, the Arabs.'

To avoid friction, and 'in earnest of the the particular esteem in which we hold Great Britain', Hussein promptly waived the Arab claim to Mersin and Adana, and these, with Alexandretta, are now Turkey's. But he stoutly affirmed that 'the districts of Aleppo and Beirut and their western maritime provinces (?) are purely Arab provinces in which both Moslem and Christian are descendants of one forefather.' This could not be denied again, and so, in a third note to Hussein, McMahon and the Government had to fall back on the argument that 'the interests of their ally, France, are involved in those two provinces [Aleppo and Beirut].' The letter ended with an assurance that 'Great Britain does not intend to conclude any peace whatsoever of which . . . the freedom of the Arab peoples is not an essential condition.'

Hussein then agreed, 'on account of France', to defer the Arabs' claim on 'Beirut and its coastal regions' until after the war.

That ended the McMahon Correspondence in so far as it concerned the boundaries desired by the Arabs, and guaranteed by the British, for the future Arab States. You will notice that never at any stage was it suggested that Palestine might be excluded—either by allusion to its familiar name or by specific reference to its then official style and status as the Sanjak of Jerusalem plus part of the administrative Vilayet of Beirut. Obviously the British Government and Sir Henry McMahon would have been careful about that, if they had really intended, in this correspondence, to reserve their rights in Palestine. It was only four or five years later that they tried to put a gloss on the terms they themselves had originated. They then argued that among 'the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo' they counted what they called 'the Vilayet of Damascus'; that this embraced all the land immediately east of Jordan; and that therefore Palestine was meant to count as one of the 'portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo.' There was no such thing as the 'Vilayet of Damascus'. On the other hand, there were the Sanjak of Damascus, the Sanjak of Hama (which included Homs) and, still further north, the Sanjak and Vilayet of Aleppo. To say that Palestine lies to the west of these, or any of them, is like saying that Wales is part of the country west of Manchester, Skipton, Appleby and Carlisle; or that the Carolinas and Georgia lie to the east of Richmond (Va.), Washington and Pittsburgh.

If I promise a man a pound, I am not entitled to say, later, that I *meant* fifteen shillings, and therefore owe him only three dollars. Or if I contract to sell him a house and the land belonging to it, only excluding the garage at the side of it, I am

not entitled to say, later, that I meant and intend to keep the front-garden as well. It is surely quite obvious that in the McMahon Correspondence Great Britain pledged her recognition and support for the independence of the Palestinian Arabs. It was made clear again in subsequent documents.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS

EVERYBODY knows something about the letter from the Foreign Secretary, A. J. Balfour, to Lord Rothschild on 2 November 1917. But few people seem to know its operative clause exactly. Here it is (with my own italics):

> 'His Majesty's Government *view with favour* the establishment in Palestine of *a* National Home for the Jewish people, and *will use their best endeavours to facilitate* the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that *nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine*, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

Compare the caution of the words I have italicised in the first half of the Declaration with (*a*) the precision of those in the second half and (*b*) the precise and categorical pledges to the Arabs in the McMahon Correspondence and in the documents I am going to quote presently. But first remember that one of your normal 'civil rights' is to decide how many strangers or guests shall come into your house.

But perhaps by accident, more probably by intuition or intelligent anticipation, the Arabs at once became suspicious. They seem to have read almost as much into the first part of this Balfour Declaration as other people have conjured into it since then. They were greatly disturbed. The Government made two moves to reassure them.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM

THE first of these moves was a mission to Hussein at Jedda, in January 1918, by the late Professor D. G. Hogarth, then Commander Hogarth of the Arab Bureau in Cairo. I have seen two versions of the relevant message which by Government order he gave to Hussein. One of them reads: 'Jewish settlement in Palestine would be allowed only in so far as would be consistent with the political and economic freedom of the Arab population.' That is how George Antonius, in his book, *The Arab Awakening*, translates the message from Hussein's note of it; and so did the appropriate Minister in Parliament on 22 May 1939, except that he said 'compatible' instead of 'consistent'. The version approved for official publication in England turns the actual wording the other way, but with obviously similar effect:

> 'Since the Jewish opinion of the world is in favour of a return of Jews to Palestine, and inasmuch as this opinion must remain a constant factor, and, further, as His Majesty's Government views with favour the realisation of this aspiration, His Majesty's Government are determined that *in so far as it is compatible with freedom of the existing population, both economic and political*, no obstacle should be put in the way of the realisation of this ideal.' (My italics.)

It is not really as difficult to unravel this as you may think at first blush. The Government would favour a 'return' of Jews to Palestine (not *the* 'return' of *the* Jews), provided the economic and political freedom of the Palestinians already there was assured.

Hussein agreed. He also consented to a tentative proposal for a 'special régime' to deal with the Holy Places of Palestine—Christian, Jew and Moslem—except for the Mosque of Omar, which the British Government reserved to the care of the Moslems only.

CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED—FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

THE next British move was another pledge, even more precise than Hogarth's message. It was given by word of mouth and in writing to seven Arabs in Cairo, and is known as the Declaration to the Seven. (They were Rafiq al-Azm, Sheikh Kamel al-Qassab, Mukhtar al-Sulb, Abdul Rohman Shahbandar, Kaled al-Hakim, Fauzi al-Bakri, and Hassan Himadeh.) They had presented their views on consequences of the Balfour Declaration. The Government's reply on 16 June 1918 said:

> 'His Majesty's Government have considered the Memorial of the Seven with the greatest care. . . . The areas mentioned in the memorandum fall into four categories:
>
> '(i) Areas in Arabia which were free and independent before the outbreak of war;
>
> '(ii) Areas emancipated from Turkish control by the action of the Arabs themselves during the present war;
>
> '(iii) Areas formerly under Ottoman dominion occupied by the Allied forces during the present war;
>
> '(iv) Areas still under Turkish control.'

Here I must interrupt to recall that, at that time, in June 1918, Palestine was divided between Nos. (iii) and (iv) of these areas. The Allied

forces had occupied the southern part of Palestine; the northern part was 'still under Turkish rule', but not for much longer. About the future of these two areas the British Declaration said:

'In regard to the areas occupied by Allied forces . . . it is the wish and desire of His Majesty's Government that the future government of these regions should be based on the principle of the consent of the governed, and this policy has, and will continue to have, the support of His Majesty's Government.

'In regard to the areas mentioned in the fourth category, it is the wish and desire of His Majesty's Government that the oppressed peoples of these areas should obtain their freedom and independence, and towards the achievement of this object His Majesty's Government continue to labour.'

This is quoted from the official text, reprinted by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in *Great Britain and Palestine* 1915–1939. In the whole Declaration to the Seven there was nothing whatsoever about Zionist settlement. It merely confirmed a just and reasonable interpretation of the McMahon Correspondence, and in some ways was an improvement on

Syria-cum-Palestine at time of McMahon Correspondence, 1915 (Palestine shaded)

ONE OF THE 'FOURTEEN POINTS'

MOST people have heard of President Woodrow Wilson's famous Fourteen Points, suggested in January 1918 as a basis for peace. Few remember that the following was one of them:

'The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.'

The Royal Commission on Palestine recalls that this point was 'accepted by the Allied Powers without reservation.' And there was to be yet another assurance. It arose from the queer story of the

SYKES-PICOT 'AGREEMENT'

FOR reasons of their own, the British Government for years kept the McMahon Agreement secret, except from the Arabs. For similar but more

LAWRENCE OF ARABIA,
by Augustus John

obvious reasons they denied to the Arabs, for eighteen months, all knowledge of the subsequent and contrary negotiations between Britain, France and the Tsarist Government in Russia for the dissection of Turkish and Arab lands into 'spheres of influence and tutelage'. France, for instance, wanted all Syria, including Palestine, and the Tsar's Government is said to have hoped for a Russian protectorate over the holiest part of the Holy Land. The parleys ended in a compromise signed in May 1916. The part of it affecting the Arabs was arranged between Mark Sykes for the British, and F. Georges-Picot for the French. The territory already conceded to the Arabs was divided, on paper, into areas called A, B, Blue, Red and Brown, where the Arabs were to be allowed varying degrees of independence, from almost complete independence to none at all. The Brown area was Palestine from Gaza to just north of Acre, except for one small enclave. Here is the whole of the relevant passage in this 'agreement':

'In the Brown area there shall be established an international administration of which the form will be decided upon after consultation with Russia, and after subsequent agreement with the other Allies and the respresentatives of the Sharif of Mecca.

'There shall be accorded to Great Britain the ports of Haifa and Acre'—i.e. the enclave mentioned above.

The Royal Commission on Palestine, 1937, quotes the more general tripartite agreement as saying: 'With a view to securing the religious interests of the Entente Powers, Palestine, with the Holy Places, is to be separated from Turkish territory and subjected to a special régime to be determined by agreement between Russia, France and Great Britain.'

There were no negotiations about all this with 'the representatives of the Sharif of Mecca'. Hussein did not hear of the document until the Revolutionary Government in Russia published it, among other archives of the Tsar's Foreign

THE EMIR FAISAL,
by Augustus John

Office. The enemy were quick to use it as a lever for detaching the Arabs from their alliance with Britain. They stood firm. But (or therefore) something had to be done to retrieve British credit from the Sykes-Picot affair. Sir Reginald Wingate, who had followed McMahon as High Commissioner in Egypt, was told to send Hussein a telegram saying:

'Documents found by Bolsheviki in Petrograd Foreign Ministry do not constitute an actually concluded agreement, but consist of records of provisional exchanges and conversations between Great Britain, France and Russia, which were held in the early days of the war, and before the Arab Revolt, with a view to avoiding difficulties between the Powers in the prosecution of the war. . . . The subsequent outbreak and the striking success of the Arab Revolt, as well as the withdrawal of Russia, long ago created an altogether different situation.'

This was followed on 8 February 1918 by a message from the British Government, sent to Hussein through the acting British Agent at Jeddah. The note warmly thanked and praised the Arabs for not only standing firm by the alliance, but also reporting to the British the secret overtures of the enemy. The British note added:

'His Majesty's Government and their allies stand steadfastly by every cause aiming at the liberation of the oppressed nations, and they are determined to stand by the Arab peoples in their struggle for the establishment of an Arab world. His Majesty's Government re-affirm their former pledge in regard to the liberation of the Arab peoples.'

INDIGENOUS NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS

THE next important statement was issued jointly by the British and French Governments on 7 November 1918, and officially displayed throughout Palestine. It said:

'The object aimed at by France and Great

Britain in prosecuting the war let loose by German ambition is the complete and definite emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of National Governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the *indigenous* populations.'

That is clear and comprehensive. I have italicised 'indigenous' to point the difference between that word and 'immigrant'. Then the Declaration added:

'In order to carry out these intentions France and Britain are at one in encouraging and assisting the establishment of indigenous Governments and Administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, now liberated by the Allies, and in territories the liberation of which they are engaged in securing, and in recognising these as soon as they are established. Far from wishing to impose on the populations of these regions any particular institutions, they are only concerned to secure their support and by adequate assistance the regular working of Governments and Administrations freely chosen by the populations themselves.'

This second paragraph adds a rider to the first; it does not modify the first. But lest anyone argue otherwise, and pretend that the specific references to 'Syria and Mesopotamia' in paragraph 2 excluded Palestine from the Declaration's benefits, the Royal Commission of 1937 pointed out that 'the Arabs had always regarded Palestine as included in Syria.' The political separation of the two territories came later.

FAISAL-WEIZMANN COMPACT

THEIR separation was assumed in the document signed jointly by the Emir Faisal, later the first King of Iraq, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, 'representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist organisation' at the beginning of 1919. Throughout this short-lived compact they referred to 'the Arab State and Palestine'.

Because of the reassurances that had followed the Balfour Declaration, Faisal was persuaded that it would be made to mean just what it said and no more. George Antonius adds that Weizmann had told Faisal, 'the Zionists had no intention of working for the establishment of a Jewish Government in Palestine.' The two men accordingly put on paper their ideas for Arab-Jewish 'collaboration' in Palestine, with 'the fullest guarantees for carrying into effect the British Government's Declaration of November 1917.' The operative clause of their compact said:

'All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants on the land through closer settlement and intensive cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights, and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.'

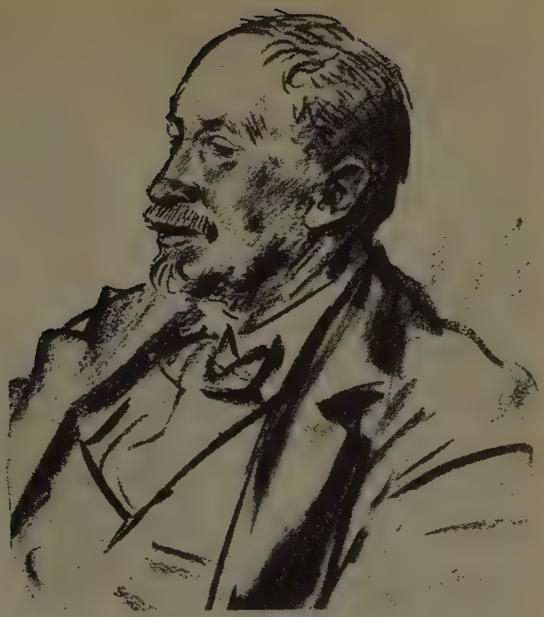
Faisal made one stipulation. As the Royal Commission on Palestine said, 'the Emir added a note of reservation to this Agreement to the effect that its execution was dependent on the fulfilment of the claims for Arab independence which he submitted to the Peace Conference. "If changes are made (this stipulation said) I cannot be answerable for failing to carry out this agreement."' The Royal Commission had to add: 'If his hopes, indeed, had been fulfilled, the development of the situation in Palestine might have been far more peaceful than it has been . . . The Faisal-Weizmann agreement could not operate: the condition attached to it had not been fulfilled.' In the words of a book I have quoted already, by the Royal Institute of International Affairs: 'As things turned, Faisal could not be "answerable". His agreement with Dr. Weizmann therefore becomes a personal document of purely historic interest.'

The same author says also: 'Looking back upon this incident, it seems unfortunate that neither party represented a body sovereign in Palestine.' They conveyed their own endorsement of this fact by their verbal separation of 'the Arab State and Palestine'. Thereby they admitted their disqualification to commit the people of Palestine in their names, for neither of them was a Palestinian. (Yes, I know what some of you are perhaps thinking, but wait a minute.) Possibly they thought themselves entitled to deal with the Palestinians rather as Chamberlain, Daladier and Hitler were to deal at Munich with the Czechs of the Sudetenland. At neither signing was there a representative of the people who were to be affected by it.

Why have I given so much space to an abortive compact of merely academic interest?

(*a*) Because at least it is documentary evidence that the later and extreme demands of the Zionists were not conceded even in 'the one brief moment at which a genuine harmony was established between Arab and Jewish statesmanship'; and

(*b*) Because supporters of the Zionists like to quote with approval such agreements by Arab Kings, but abuse the Kings for 'interference' when they intercede on behalf of the Arab Palestinians (rather as the Nazis complain of Swedish 'interference' on behalf of Norwegians).



HOGARTH, *by Augustus John*

I should have thought, on the contrary, that it was better to intercede for another people's promised independence than to negotiate encroachments on it without consulting them.

AN IMPARTIAL INQUIRY

THE McMahon Correspondence had included Palestine in the area of Arab independence. As if that were not plain enough, the subsequent (official) documents had been progressively more specific. The Balfour Declaration had guaranteed the civil and religious rights of Palestine's non-Jewish majority. The Hogarth message had added their political and economic freedom. A Wilson 'point', accepted without reserve, had assured them 'an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.' The Declaration to the Seven had pledged them their freedom and independence, with government 'on the principle of the consent of the governed'. The Anglo-French statement of 7 November 1918 had declared for their 'complete and definite emancipation', with a National Government chosen freely by the indigenous population.

But I hope it is not priggish to suggest that certain principles of human conduct and relationship are generally valid, irrespective of promises. The document I want to quote next did refer to promises, but has an importance quite apart from them. It has been described, too, as 'the only source to which the historian can turn for a disinterested and objective analysis of the state of feeling in Arab political circles in the period immediately following the War' (of 1914–18).

A month after his so-called 'interference', Faisal went at least half-way towards making personal amends for it, though he had no need to apologise for its generous motive. Against the Black Market of treaty-making intrigues, rivalries and bargains, he threw into the Peace Conference his proposal 'that a commission of inquiry be appointed to visit Syria and Palestine, and ascertain on the spot the wishes of the population.' President Wilson warmly backed this idea. Lloyd George was nervous of it; but went so far as to make the curious choice of Sir Henry McMahon and D. G. Hogarth—already committed, surely, in the Arabs' favour—as British members of the Commission. The French made difficulties. Finally the project broke down. But President Wilson sent his own nominees to carry out an inquiry on his behalf. They were Dr. Henry C. King, President of Oberlin College, and Mr. Charles R. Crane, assisted by Professor Albert H. Lybyer, Dr. George R. Montgomery and Captain William Yale. Mr. Crane had been a member of the President's special Diplomatic

Commission to Russia in 1917, and later was U.S. Minister to China. The Commission reported late in August 1919. They advised against the political separation of Syria and Palestine; but this is what they said about Palestine:

'We recommend serious modification of the extreme Zionist programme for Palestine of unlimited immigration of Jews, looking finally to making Palestine distinctly a Jewish State.

'(1) The Commissioners began their study of Zionism with minds predisposed in its favour, but the actual facts in Palestine, coupled with the force of the general principles proclaimed by the Allies and accepted by the Syrians, have driven them to the recommendation here made.

'(2) The Commission was abundantly supplied with literature on the Zionist programme by the Zionist Commission to Palestine; heard in conferences much concerning the Zionist colonies and their claims; and personally saw something of what had been accomplished. They found much to approve in the aspirations and plans of the Zionists, and had warm appreciation for the devotion of many of the colonists, and for their success, by modern methods, in overcoming great natural obstacles.

'(3) The Commission recognised also that definite encouragement had been given to the Zionists by the Allies in Mr. Balfour's often-quoted statement, in its approval by other representatives of the Allies. If, however, the strict terms of the Balfour Statement are adhered to—favouring "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people", it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine—it can hardly be doubted that the extreme Zionist programme must be greatly modified.

'For a national home for the Jewish people is not equivalent to making Palestine into a Jewish State; nor can the erection of such a Jewish State be accomplished without the gravest trespass upon the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. The fact came out repeatedly in the Commission's conferences with Jewish representatives, that the Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, by various forms of purchase.

'In his address of 4 July 1918, President Wilson laid down the following principle as one of the four great "ends for which the associated peoples of the world were fighting": "The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery."

'If that principle is to rule, and so the wishes of Palestine's population are to be decisive as to what is to be done with Palestine, then it is to be remembered that the non-Jewish population of Palestine—nearly nine-tenths of the whole—are emphatically against the entire Zionist programme. The tables show that there was no one thing upon which the population of Palestine were more agreed than upon this: To subject a people so minded to unlimited Jewish immigration, and to steady financial and social pressure to surrender the land, would be a gross violation of the principle just quoted, and of the people's rights, though it kept within the forms of law.

'It is to be noted also that the feeling against the Zionist programme is not confined to Palestine, but shared very generally by the people throughout Syria, as our conferences clearly showed. More than seventy-two per cent—1,350 in all—of all the petitions in the whole of Syria were directed against the Zionist programme. Only two requests—those for a united Syria and for independence—had a larger support.

'The Peace Conference should not shut its eyes to the fact that the anti-Zionist feeling in Palestine and Syria is intense and not lightly to be flouted. No British officer, consulted by the Commissioners, believed that the Zionist programme could be carried out except by force of arms. Decisions requiring armies to carry out are sometimes necessary, but they are surely not gratuitously to be taken in the interests of serious injustice. For the initial claim, often submitted by Zionist representatives, that they have a "right" to Palestine, based on an occupation of 2,000 years ago, can hardly be seriously considered.'

Note.—The King-Crane Commission went on to recommend that the Mandate for Palestine and Syria combined should go to the United States. The U.S.A. refused it. But neither this fact, nor the King-Crane Report, nor the terms of the Mandate, have deterred certain members of the United States Congress from tabling, since the above article was written, a resolution urging that Palestine should be 'reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth.' That is also the aim today of the Zionists, but it is against all the standing declarations of policy by the British Government, which up to the beginning of the war had tended towards repentance for betrayal of the pledges to the Arabs. These considerations will be discussed in a second article.

BIRTH OF A NATION

C. H. WADDINGTON, Sc.D.

A biologist discusses the causes and growth of nationalism and what to do about it—based on some investigations in the island of Bali

THIS is an age of nationalism. Not, of course, that nationalism is anything new—it was very soon after the Fall that the sons of Shem, Ham and Japheth went their different ways. In fact, one might call nationalism the oldest political profession in the world, and demagogues who exploit it would find themselves in rather suitable company with the members of the other 'oldest profession'.

But old though the sentiment is, it seems to be widely gaining strength today. Obviously enough the Fascist countries—Germany, Japan, Italy and even Spain—found one of the mainsprings of action in a perfervid belief in the heroic rôle of their nation. And it must not be overlooked that they have been met during the war by an almost equally intense national feeling in their democratic opponents. Perhaps the most striking evidence of this is the recent adoption of the new Soviet anthem, which substitutes a deep love of the motherland for the old international solidarity with the subjugated masses. The patriots of France and Poland, the guerrillas of Greece and Jugoslavia, seem, from all one can learn, to be inspired more by a desire for the salvation of their own countries than by more general international ideals. Probably most Englishmen would admit that the war has made them more conscious and proud of being British than they were before. The Jews have preserved their national characteristics in difficult and varying circumstances through the centuries. And finally—and perhaps this is one of the most important manifestations of nationalism for the future—there is every sign that national feeling is growing fast in the 'backward' yellow and black countries of Asia and Africa.

There is no reason to expect that this tide of feeling will recede immediately the war is over. It is much more probable that it is a factor to which we should do better to pay serious attention in any plans we may contemplate for the post-war world.

The first step towards being able to accommodate national feeling in our post-war plans is to understand it—and to understand it scientifically.

A small boy aged 414 days learns to stand and walk by using as a support a horizontal bamboo fixed to two posts. This makes the child frightened of departing outwards from the centre, the exact opposite of the play-pen of western culture, which confines the child within restricting limits, making it desire to escape from them and to be adventurous

It is not enough to 'understand' merely by having a sympathetic feeling of what it is like to be 'nationally minded'. We need to know how national feeling arises; how far it can be changed, and how to set about changing or controlling it. Can it be tamed, so that we can build a world in which different localities have their own distinctive characters and are proud of them, and yet are able to respect and work with other local characters, as for instance in the case of the forty-eight states of the U.S.A.? It has taken a long process of trial and error before mankind could act in such a way even as between individuals; but a combination of the upholding of one's own individuality and respect for other people's is the essential basis of democracy. Can we imitate such

a system on the national level? And if so, can we get any guidance as to how to bring about a democracy of nations without the interminable struggles which marked the growing pains of individual democracy?

This is, for instance, the root of the whole problem of what shall be done with the defeated enemy. If Germany's own theory were right, that the basis of a national character is biological race, there would be no way, short of a long programme of controlled breeding, of bringing Germany back into a condition in which she was fit to associate with civilised nations on equal terms. But all biologists, except those actually threatened by Nazi domination, agree that biological race can play at best a very small part in determining national character—in fact in Europe the biological 'races' are so vague and so mixed that it is difficult to see how racial differences can play any part at all.

Probably most educated people have been convinced by now that the current theories of race differences and racial superiority or inferiority are too crude and in many ways simply untrue. But the biologists who have pointed out the inadequacies of these theories have not had much to offer in exchange. There is no doubt that there *are* real differences between people which cause us to recognise 'foreigners' as being in many ways unlike ourselves. It is easy to say that these differences are due to 'culture'—but what do we mean by that? Something, presumably, to do with upbringing. But it must be something very deep-lying and profound if it is to be made responsible for the enormous power which, as we have seen, national emotion has in the world today.

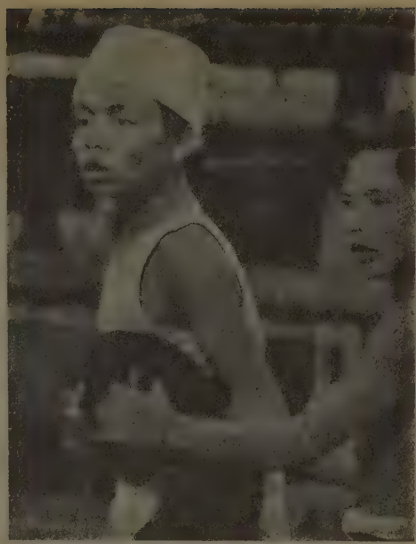
A scientific study has recently been published in New York[1] which goes a long way towards showing what sort of 'upbringing' contributes to the formation of national character, and how it does it. The authors are two anthropologists, Margaret Mead, an American, and Gregory Bateson, an Englishman. Their subject of study was the Balinese—the inhabitants of the famous and picturesque island lying at the end of the long arc which runs down from Sumatra through Java. The national character of the Balinese is not, of course, of any major importance in the world today; but they do happen to have a character which is, to the American or British eye, a very odd and noticeable one, which can be fairly clearly grasped and studied, so that one can almost regard them as a microscopic section of nationalism on a slide. And the principles which emerge from this study can give us a good indication of how to try to understand more important peoples nearer home. (A similar case of study to make deductions of a wider import is the well-known laboratory work on heredity in fruit flies.)

There is not room here to give anything like a complete picture of the Balinese. Even in a long book, Mead and Bateson do not find it easy to bring these very strange people alive before us. They try to do so both in words and in pictures; a great deal of what they observed was recorded on cinema films or by numerous still photos, so that it could be studied at leisure by themselves and other people. A few out of the hundreds of pictures they took are reproduced here.

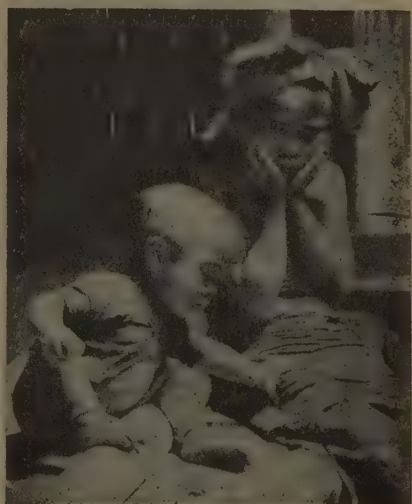
One of the first things that struck Mead and Bateson about the Balinese was their dependence on a very complex framework into which everything has to be fitted. They are continually referring to the points of the compass; the language in which they speak to one another varies according to the castes of the two speakers; and they use, simultaneously, weeks of one, two, three and so on up to ten days. 'In a strange village, where he does not know the cardinal points or the local customs, and if he does not know what day it is in at least three of the intercogging weeks, nor the caste and order of birth term (i.e. first, second or third child) for the person with whom he is trying to converse, the Balinese is completely disoriented. . . . If one takes a Balinese quickly, in a motor car, away from his native village so that he loses his bearings, the result may be several hours of illness and a tendency to deep sleep.'

This profound reliance on convention has many roots in the way Balinese children are brought up. One simple, but probably significant, fact is that a Balinese child is taught to walk by being given a framework which it walks round and uses as a support—if it wanders away it falls down. In contrast to this, we usually put our children in a square play-pen, which encourages them to keep to the outermost edges of their play-area instead of to the centre of it. The Balinese mother, in fact, gets very alarmed if her child strays out into an open space, and usually shouts some scare-word ('snake', 'wolf', 'dragon', or anything else which comes into her head) until the baby comes back in alarm. This method of controlling the child by frightening it is very characteristic of Balinese upbringing, though perhaps 'fright' is not quite the right word; 'startle' gives a rather better idea. The emotion is very common in grown-up Balinese: they have quick, timorous reactions, rather like deer. And

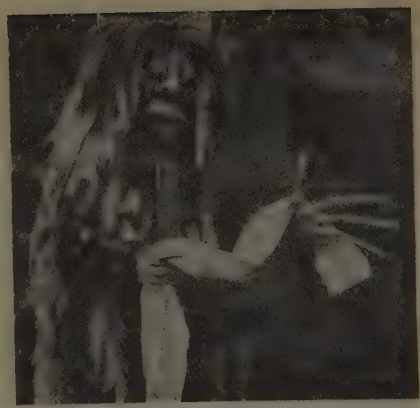
[1] *Balinese Character*, by Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead. Special publication of the New York Academy of Science, 1942.



Children are controlled in Bali, much more than in our western culture, by fright or 'startle'. The mother calls her child as a hen does a chick, by a sudden startling cry—the child feels fear with the mother, rather than fear of her. The first picture shows a mother and child both being afraid together, in this case of the photographer. They communicate their fear to each other by the tenseness of their muscles. The other picture shows two boys dancing as frightened spirits. This emotion of fear in Bali is not disagreeable, being originally something learnt by sharing it with the mother in her arms



Perhaps the most characteristic attitude in Bali to personal relations, which lies close to the heart of national character and international relations, is their combination of pleasure in crowds and yet personal 'awayness'. The first picture above shows a carver who has just finished a carving, and then leant back utterly spent and abstracted from the world. The moment after he was all gay with a sudden resumption of activity. The other picture shows a little girl whose mother was suspected of being an hereditary witch and to some extent therefore ostracised by the villagers. Her daughter, though rather old to indulge in tantrums, is here shown completely abstracted, while her younger sister is trying hard without success to stimulate her



(Left) *In Bali mothers tease their children—they over-stimulate them and then as soon as the baby shows any sign of real emotion they turn to something else and leave the baby's response hanging in the air. This helps to build up the typical Bali condition of 'awayness'. In this picture a Balinese mother is shown flattering somebody else's baby while her own baby is very cross and shows jealousy*

(Right) *The idea of the witch holds a central place in the Balinese mythology. The photograph shows her huge teeth and enormous fingernails attached to gloves, which are there to give emphasis to her gestures*

they obviously find this emotion not altogether disagreeable; after all, is was originally something they learnt by sharing it with their mother when they were in her arms.

It is easy to understand why the Balinese, so easily startled if they lose touch with their well-known background, find their greatest pleasure in gay and lively crowds. They like things to be, as they call it, *rame*, a word which can be translated as 'noisily, crowdedly festive'. 'Roads packed with people all going in different directions; temple courts overcrowded with offerings and where three orchestras are playing different pieces within easy earshot of each other and two dramatic performances are going on a few feet apart; market places where gay shoppers can hardly thread their way among the endless trays of carefully sorted and arrayed fruits and foods, and the fresh flowers on which strong manufactured scent has been put, and the little stands where ready-made offerings to the market gods are sold; a theatrical performance about which the audience packs so tightly that the smallest child cannot worm its way from the front row (where the smaller children sit by well-established custom) to the outer edge where people break away and wander among the peanut vendors—that is *rame*.[1] No matter if one knows no one in the whole crowd. Pressed tightly against the steaming bodies of strangers, the air heavy with scent and garlic and spices, and many rare forms of dirt, sharing no single emotion with those so close to him, the Balinese watches the play and revels in the occasion, when he can stand completely remote in spirit, yet so close in body to a crowd.'

In that description of Balinese fun, the authors bring out another of the salient features of their national character—the lack of human warmth and personal contact. It is probably the most interesting thing about them, because it is in connection with the characteristic attitude to personal relations—whether they are seen on a basis of co-operativeness, or of dominance and aggression, of rivalry or of emotional response—that the problem of national character is most pressing in the world today. And Bateson and Mead's analysis of this aspect of the Balinese character is particularly full and enlightening. They show how it is developed by a self-perpetuating system in which the adults have been brought up to be people who are bound, by their own characters, to bring up children just like themselves.

Balinese adults have been trained not to like warm, personal, human contact; they have learnt to withdraw, to sink back into themselves, if anything of the kind threatens. So they treat their children in just that way. Mothers play a great deal with their babies; in fact, according to

[1] This sounds like an account of an English Bank Holiday. As a matter of fact, Margaret Mead, looking at both the Balinese and the British with shrewd American eyes, privately considers that one of us must have been invented as a caricature of the other!

(Left) *An essential part of Balinese culture is fear. The world beyond the known area is full of danger (see also the first three pictures). The Balinese show fear in various ways, but this picture shows a child afraid of the photographer and covering his eyes with his hands*

(Right) *Siblings. This is a scientific word coming into greater use nowadays and means a child of the same parents, in other words it is short for 'brother or sister'. Much study was made in this investigation of the behaviour of siblings. The picture shows two sibling babies on the mother's lap, one suckling. From an early age Balinese children take part in the community activities —the little girls acting as nurses to the babies and the little boys looking after the buffaloes*

our ideas they over-stimulate them and poke and tease them for the fun of making them smile and 'coo'. But as soon as the baby, or young child, begins to show any signs of real emotion, either of affection or rage, the Balinese mother turns to something else and leaves the baby's response hanging in the air. In the gay chattering family life, the child's emotions are continually being stimulated and then frustrated—until after a time the quite young toddler learns to keep them to himself.

There is a fairly definite sequence of stages in a Balinese baby's life. First he is the new-born of the family, his mother's most darling plaything; in fact everybody is ready to tease him all the time. His mother will flirt with him in an openly sexual way, ruffling up his penis and saying how handsome he is; or, to tease him, she will borrow someone else's baby and pretend to have transferred her attentions to it. But it is all play; if the child reacts either by affection or rage, the mother turns away and starts laughing about something else. Then a new baby is born; and the previous favourite becomes still more a mere butt for teasing. By the time still another baby appears, is it any wonder that the little child has become a self-sufficient creature who never gives himself away? If the child is a girl, at this stage she begins to be used as a nurse to look after the newest baby; a boy soon takes charge of an ox, and spends his time herding it in the fields where he has little contact with the rest of his family.

The process of damping down the child's spontaneous emotional reaction, of teaching it, above all, to avoid carrying anything to a climax, does not go entirely smoothly, as might be expected. Children who are just getting to the stage of complete control usually pass through a phase of extraordinary tantrums or of sulks. In a final attempt to get some reaction out of their mother, they go off into tempests of rage, yelling and throwing themselves about—or they sit and ostentatiously sulk. Neither tactic is often successful; the tantrum evokes no answering rage, and the sulking child is merely neglected. But it is probably a reaction similar to these two which persists as such a surprising feature of the life of Balinese adults—the tendency to go into 'trance', a condition rather like hypnosis.

Trance plays a great rôle, for instance, in the drama which is always being enacted in Balinese ceremonies. This is the *Tjalonarang*, the witch play. The idea of the witch holds a central place in the whole Balinese mythology. It is easy to see why, when one realises that the witch represents the typical Balinese mother. In the play, she is accompanied by the dragon, who is rather a puppyish, rough, but fairly good-natured character, like the Balinese father. When the followers of the dragon (played by young men) attempt to attack the witch, she waves at them her magic weapon, which is nothing but the sash which mothers use for carrying their children—and the dragon-followers cower before

Avoidance of emotion. The baby is in a tantrum and has run to her mother screaming, but the mother's response to this is negligent and relaxed. In Bali mothers avoid adequate response to the climaxes of their children's anger and love

her. Finally they rush at her again to stab her; she remains quite limp in their arms, quite unconcerned at the attack; but the young men fall helpless to the ground in a deep trance. The dragon then comes in again, and his followers rise to their feet, still in trance, and dance a violent, orgiastic dance in which their daggers are turned against themselves and pressed against a spot on their breasts which is said to itch unbearably.

This is only one of the many occasions in which trance is an important element in Balinese ritual, but the whole plot of the witch play is a very neat summing up of the typical situation which moulds the Balinese character, a dramatisation of the unresponsive mother, whose own character not allowing her to accept her child's emotion, forces the baby to turn back on itself.

There has, of course, only been room to give a very rough sketch of Balinese life and character in this article. Obviously one has had to neglect all the innumerable differences between one Balinese and another—they are, like all nations, a set of people each with his own individuality.

Mead and Bateson have focused their attention on just those aspects of upbringing and character which seem to them typical; they would not wish to claim that all Balinese families are exactly as has been described, nor that all Balinese have the same character. But 'national character', even if it is only a generalisation from many dissimilar individuals, is a perfectly real phenomenon, and Mead and Bateson's observations, which are generalisations again, do seem to provide a very convincing theory of how such national types develop. The nation they have analysed, the Balinese, is of course an out-of-the-way, small, and in the modern world unimportant, group of folk. But it is usually from special, simplified situations that science gets its best insight into the more complex conditions of normal life, for instance the study of heredity in the drosophylla fruit fly. What the scientist does in his laboratory —putting the subject he is studying into a situation he thoroughly understands so that he can force it to provide definite answers to his questions—history has here done for us; at least as well as we shall probably ever find it. The little island of Bali, with its peculiar and well-marked culture, can be regarded as our test-tube.

And the lessons it suggests need thinking about in relation to our own more elaborate civilisation. If the traits of feeling and behaviour which distinguish an Englishman from a Balinese (or from a German or a Frenchman or an American) originate in their very earliest experiences at their mother's knees, that goes a long way towards explaining why nationality has the enormous power we see it has in the world today. One is bound to ask oneself, if this is the kind of way the German grows up to be the peculiar mixture of disciplined bully and sentimental dreamer that we know him to be, what sort of reorganisation of his social and family life is going to be necessary to make him a bearable neighbour again? Will any purely political or economic reorganisation suffice, or must we try to bring about a new orientation of the intimate details of German family life? And Italian? and Japanese? Is anything short of that adequate to educate, condition and control the widespread human behaviour of nationalism.

5

Trance plays a great part in the Balinese character and for instance in their drama. During the acting of a drama, some of the actors fall into a trance. The other members watch to see that they shall not hurt themselves, and lay them out in the temple to recover to normality. The first picture shows a man who went into a trance too soon; waiting for the occasion stimulated him into a trance. The next picture shows a man in a trance lying on the ground roaring and pressing the kris, a local dagger, against his body

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THE FRENCH NAVY AND BRITAIN (II)

VICE-ADMIRAL MUSELIER

As a result of the Entente Cordiale, and the growing power of the German Navy which, under the impetus of Kaiser Wilhelm II, aimed at wresting the sceptre of Neptune from Britain, it became necessary for France and Britain, after the Agadir incident, jointly to devise measures to be taken in order to resist a German attack. The Entente Cordiale was transformed into the Triple Entente by joining with Russia, and agreement among the staffs was reached.

Franco-Anglo-Russian maritime collaboration was established on two occasions. In the first place, after 1913 when, in order to avoid war, the 'Concert of Europe' decided to send an international squadron to force the Serbs and Montenegrins to raise the siege of Scutari, the two naval forces (those of the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance) came face to face. On one side was the Austrian squadron, to which were attached the German *Goeben* and the *Breslau* and two Italian cruisers. On the other side was a British battle cruiser, a French cruiser and a Russian vessel. And it was only after some difficulty that the British admiral in supreme command of the international squadron succeeded in establishing his authority, and in preventing the ships of the Triple Alliance from acting brutally against the Montenegrin port of Antivari.

It was in the following year, on the occasion of the defence of Durazzo, that the British, French and Russian fleets had to collaborate in the military sense. The European situation was becoming more and more tense. The Prince of Wied, at the suggestion of the German Government, had been named 'Mbret' (king) of Albania. But his subjects did not recognise his authority, and he was practically besieged in the peninsula of Durazzo. He had under his command only a few bands, recruited from the Albanian Catholic tribes (Malissores), sometimes led by priests wearing curious round caps as headgear with their Roman cassocks, and completely under Austrian influence. These warriors went to Mass fully armed before going into battle. The servants of the priests deposited their guns on the steps of the altar, but carefully guarded their cartridge belts and their emergency provisions (namely, an enormous cucumber) which hung at their side. The Serbs were on the side of the Albanian rebels. The international squadron was sent to Durazzo to impose on Albania the will of the European nations, and was then placed under the command of a British admiral. The Entente Cordiale comprised a British battleship, the most modern French armed cruiser, the *Edgarquinet*, and a Russian gunboat; the Triple Alliance produced an Austrian squadron (battleships, cruisers and torpedo-boats), the German vessels *Goeben* (a battle cruiser) and *Breslau* and two Italian cruisers.

On land, the artillery of the Prince of Wied was under the command of German officers acting as civilians. German and Austrian landing forces were disembarked, and assisted in the defence of the trenches. The Italians, as they were wont, remained passive; and the landing forces of the Entente were kept in reserve, ready to intervene only if the life of the Prince of Wied were threatened. The situation was such on 31 July 1914, after the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, that war became inevitable. It summed up the general European situation: on the one hand the Triple Alliance, seeking to develop its Balkan influence (and we know that it was the Serbian affair which was the pretext for the war), Italy hesitating, and the Triple Entente striving at all costs to avoid war, agreeing for that reason to participate in a collaboration contrary to the principles of the rights of nations to prepare themselves, in spite of futile concessions, for the war desired by Germany.

When, several days later, France, and then Britain, received the German declaration of war after the invasion of Belgium, the French vessels were ordered to open a certain secret envelope which they had had on board for some time. This little yellow paper, sealed with red wax, fixed the destiny of some tens of thousands of sailors of each of the three Navies, and contained the secret code of communication between the Allied, British, French and Russian Navies. The French Navy was entrusted with the defence of the Mediterranean, and the French Admiral in command of the Mediterranean squadron had supreme command of it. In all other parts of the globe, French ships

The fast 25,000-ton battleship Dunkerque

were placed under the orders of the British Admiralty, as were Russian ships, except in the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea, where the Russian Admiralty remained in charge of operations.

The French Navy was then at its full strength. On the day of mobilisation, at Toulon, three squadrons, each of six cruisers; two squadrons of six battleships; light cruisers and numerous torpedo-boat chasers and submarines were assembled.

These squadrons were well trained for fighting. Almost all the officers came from the Naval School or the Polytechnic School. The school of war had prepared the staff officers for their rôle, and the crews, composed of ordinary sailors (from Brittany and Provence), reinforced by contingents of volunteers who had specialised in mechanics, torpedo boats, radio, etc., were absolutely up to scratch.

In manœuvres, as well as in target practice, the French Navy had shown itself ready for combat. But some deficiencies in material and armament had not been made good.

French material was then, as it still is, less robust and more intricate than British material. Naval aviation was almost non-existent. Only one ship, *La Foudre*, an old submarine carrier, had been fitted out to launch small seaplanes. But

Cruiser Duquesne *in Alexandria harbour. This ship, under Admiral Godfrey, with others, was held up for some time. Joined the Allies in June 1943*

right from the beginning when it was used in the Adriatic, this attempt produced feeble results. Deficiencies were also revealed in the use of certain projectiles of high calibre, the very delicate mechanism of which caused premature explosions which destroyed the gear. The torpedoes were not sufficiently large for prolonged passage under the sea, and the range of the guns of high calibre (14,000 m.) was inferior to that of the British and German ships. As a contrast, the morale of all was very high. When the echo of the cannon fire in the roadstead of Toulon on the afternoon of 2 August 1914 announced general mobilisation, a prolonged cry of joy burst forth from all the ships in the squadron. The French Navy had taken part in all the Colonial campaigns in the course of which, under the Third Republic, France had learned how to create a new Empire to replace that which the wars of the eighteenth century and those of the Napoleonic epoch had lost her. Everywhere she had been equal to her task and lived up to her traditions, and she felt big enough to make the name of France respected in the Mediterranean as well as on all imperial routes.

Here, then, is a résumé of her rôle, obscure perhaps, but none the less useful, during the course of the last war.

At the beginning of hostilities, the cruisers which formed the squadron of the North were sent to form a blockade in the Channel, so as to prevent eventual access to it by the Kaiser's squadron. But as Britain had entered the struggle, the anticipated engagement, which would certainly have ended in the destruction of our forces, which were much weaker, did not take place. And this squadron rallied under the tactical orders of the British Admiralty. In the Mediterranean, the French fleet to which was joined a British division (which, after having let the *Goeben* pass, had come under the orders of the French Commander-in-Chief), operated in the Adriatic in the hope of fighting and destroying the Austrian fleet. But the latter took refuge in port, and the French battleship fleet was drawn up in the roadstead of Corfu, behind a solid barrier, where she waited (for lack of enemies) until the Armistice, thus losing much of her fighting power. The cruisers and torpedo-craft alone blockaded the Adriatic, in spite of the risks of submarine attacks, which cost us several cruisers. Nevertheless minor operations did take place (the attack at Cattaro, and divers operations off the islands and coast of Dalmatia).

When Italy entered the war, the French Navy, out of regard for her susceptibilities, limited her action in the Adriatic. She succeeded, however, in a very delicate operation which recalls Dunkirk—the evacuation of the remainder of the Serbian army (more than 100,000 men) from the Dalmatian coast to Corfu, where the army was reconstituted. This action was carried out without the loss of a single man.

The French fleet in the Mediterranean then proceeded to operations off the cost of Syria. One

The French battleship Suffren

division contributed brilliantly to the defence of the Suez Canal; and one squadron took part in the attack on the Dardanelles. Admiral Guépratte, leader of this squadron, had asked Admiral De Robeck, the British commander of the operation, to let the French be placed in the forefront, and that lost us four cruisers—the *Bouvet* and the *Charlemagne* sunk, and the *Gaulois* and the *Saint-Louis* seriously damaged.

Later the squadron devoted itself to the blockade of the Dardanelles, the defence of the convoys to Salonika, and the blockade of the Adriatic. We lost in addition the battleships *Danton* and *Suffren*.

At the time of the intensification of submarine warfare, light ships, reinforced by gunboats, *avisos* and chasers, formed (with the help of the British and American Navies) a safe escort for the convoys, and contributed largely to the safe transport of the American Army to France. Not a single life was lost from among the escorted American troops. French naval forces also safely escorted more than 400,000 coloured French troops.

On land, the Navy used the surplus of its complement in military formations: a brigade of naval gunners, who wrote a glorious page in the history of Belgium and France, and whose resources were four times destroyed and renewed; a brigade of gunnery seamen, etc.

At sea, a whole series of decoy ships was armed, with favourable results. But the entire effort of the naval arsenals was turned over to land armaments, and the construction of big ships ceased. The battleships *France* and *Paris* were completed. But the construction of four battleships of 24,000 tons of the type of the *Languedoc* was suspended. And so it is that, at the end of the war, the French Navy, having filled a somewhat obscure but useful rôle in close liaison and on perfect understanding with the British Navy, found itself very depleted, with much-worn and out-of-date equipment, and without having experienced the joy of seeing her losses compensated by the glory of one great successful battle.

The personnel had everywhere been on top of its task; and on all the ships which were sunk, the commanders, faithful to the true French tradition, died at their post, sometimes voluntarily remaining on the bridge until the moment when their ship was engulfed. Several submarine commanders, caught in enemy nets in the Adriatic, the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora, after safely evacuating their crews, stayed on board to sink with their vessels.

Then came the Armistice. Thereafter the Navy had to perform thankless tasks in the Baltic and Black Seas during the years 1919 and 1920. Unfortunately at this time British policy had moved away from French policy, and the close union which had been sealed in battle between the soldiers and sailors of the two nations in adverse circumstances and in victory was destroyed at the conferences which followed the Armistice.

France, who had lost 1,500,000 men and who was worn out, partially ravaged, and riddled with debts, renounced the frontier of the Rhine—in exchange for the Anglo-American guarantee. But the American Senate refused to recognise the commitments of President Wilson, and Britain herself did not always comply with French requests for obtaining the Reparations to which she was entitled. The conditions under which the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were discussed were such that Clemenceau was able to define them in the title which he chose for his memoirs, *Grandeurs et Misères d'une Victoire*. In short France was deprived of her natural frontier, the Rhine, and the Reparations which were her due.

In order to understand how, after the Armistice of 1940, the greater part of the French Navy followed the instructions of Admiral Darlan, and let itself be convinced by the ardent anti-British propaganda which has since been handed out by the government of Vichy, it is necessary to remember the errors committed from 1918 to 1938—errors of which the French Navy has borne the brunt. It is essential to recognise these errors, so that they may not crop up again, because our two nations have paid dearly for them.

Thus the Navy, as a result of losses in battle or naval accidents from 1907 to 1922, had lost seven out of eighteen battleships: *Iena*, *Liberté*, *Bouvet*, *Suffren*, *Charlemagne*, *Danton*, and *France*. Moreover, *Jean-Bart*, *Saint-Louis*, *Mirabeau* and *Gaulois* had been seriously damaged; and the building of new battleships had been stopped in 1914.

She had thus lost more than half her battleships. And there was no possibility of replacing them. She had expected, as had the Italian Navy, that the stopping of naval construction would be compensated by the delivery of a certain number of German and Austrian ships.

But Scapa Flow intervened, and was followed by the agreements at Spa. France, whether according to these agreements or as a result of the execution of the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, did obtain a few ships on the express condition that she destroyed them. Only four small light cruisers, two flotilla leaders (of which one was German and the other Austrian) and ten submarines were incorporated into the French fleet.

This was not without its difficulties. Indeed the British delegation on the Inter-Allied Naval Commission for Control in Germany, of which for the French delegation I was Chief of Staff, then Chief for four years, decreed that the ships allotted to France and Italy to be incorporated in their fleets were to be delivered unarmed, that is to say, without breeches for the guns and without spare stores.

Now the Treaty of Versailles forbade the manufacture of submarine equipment in Germany, and the export of all German war material. And our British allies insisted on the clauses being strictly adhered to. Various discussions at the Conference of Ambassadors were necessary in order that France and Italy might obtain permission to arm these vessels.

Great Britain, to assist Germany, even renounced a great part of the harbour equipment, which ought to have been given up gratuitously, by way of compensation for Scapa Flow. The French Navy was under the impression that Britain wished her to be finally handicapped immediately after victory.

As Germany fell short of her engagements relative to military disarmament and to Reparations, sanctions had to be applied, and it was then that the occupation of the Ruhr and the declaration of independence of the Rhineland were brought about. In both cases Britain opposed French policy, and went so far as to refuse to let French troops pass through the British occupied zone of Cologne.

Finally Great Britain insisted on putting an end to the activity of the Control Commissions, and in particular that of the Naval Commission, after the German submarines had been destroyed and the defences of Heligoland razed. But the French delegation insisted for a long time on the maintenance of this Naval Commission, which at any rate forbade the secret manufacture of war material, and the reconstitution of the General Staff, and which supervised the arming of the German fleet, limited to six battleships of 12,000 tons, fitted with a maximum of 200 guns, and six light cruisers, plus a dozen torpedo-craft—and no submarines. It also guaranteed the destruction of surplus material. The French delegation, in particular, insisted on the destruction of heavy coastal artillery; it was afraid these guns of heavy calibre might be used on land as heavy artillery of long range and great strength, on railroads, for instance. It could obtain no satisfaction; and the Naval Commission was suppressed after the Commission of Aerial Control. Germany even obtained permission for commercial aviation which, moreover, could easily be transformed in a few hours into an attacking air force. She was also granted the right to possess (without France's approval) submarines, and a wartime Navy which was equal to a third of the British Navy, that is to say, almost equal to the maximum imposed by the Washington Agreement on the French Navy, but

The French submarine Surcouf, *the largest submarine in the world. Sunk in a collision some months ago*

which France, ruined by the last war and frustrated in her Reparation rights, had never been in a position to build. Nevertheless the French Navy had to defend the greatest Colonial Empire after the British.

In a later article I will study in greater detail the faults committed in the non-execution of certain clauses of disarmament and security in the Treaty of Versailles.

At the beginning of the present war, France, saddled by debt, had not been able to rebuild her Navy. Her only large ships from 1930 onwards were two modern battleships of 35,000 tons, *Jean Bart* and *Richelieu*; two battleships of 27,000 tons, *Strasbourg* and *Dunkerque*; four cruisers of 10,000 tons, *Foch*, *Colbert*, *Algerie* and *Dupleix*, and six light cruisers of 6,000 tons of the type of *Galissonnière*. She had only one very old aircraft-carrier, *Bearn*, whose keel was laid in 1917, and one aircraft transport, *Commandant Teste*.

And the entire Navy bore a grudge against its former ally, whose attitude had resulted in this state of affairs.

Moreover, political discussions upset the close unity between the staffs and crews. The officers, seeing their moral situation diminish by reason of certain demagogic exaggerations, and being insufficiently paid at the same time, turned in the great majority of cases towards the policy of the parties of the extreme Right, whose papers, such as *Maurras Action Française*, *Gringoire*, *Candide* and *Je Suis Partout* flooded the wardrooms.

The Republican officers, and even the democrats, were suspected by the majority of their comrades, and Admiral Darlan, supreme chief, having relieved all his possible rivals of their high commands, was indisputable head of the so-called Republican Navy which became a state within a State.

It was thus that, after the order had been given on 16 June 1940 to resist to the bitter end, Darlan, through an unpardonable error of judgment, and driven by his personal ambition, dragged the Navy with him into capitulation.

Except for the few thousand officers and men who followed me when, first alone on board ship at Gibraltar, and then in London at the side of General de Gaulle, I formed the Free French Navy, which remained faithful to the British alliance, the majority of French sailors, obeying their officers, followed Darlan. Believing they were carrying out their military duties with a blind devotion, they let themselves die bravely for a bad cause, acting on the orders of their chiefs who were instruments of Darlan.

Then came Dakar, Libreville, Casablanca, Oran and Bizerta, with grievous losses . . . then the supreme catastrophe: the suicide of the French fleet at Toulon.

But what is left of the French fleet has returned to the fight, and continues the struggle, with the courage and spirit of sacrifice which she has so often shown. I hope the Allies, and in particular the British, will never forget that, if the French fleet committed suicide at Toulon, it was because it was anxious to keep the word it had given to the Royal Navy that never, under any circumstances whatsoever, would it surrender to the enemy.

The sacrifice of our dead will not be in vain! Of that we are sure. Following the hard and brilliant example set since July 1940 by the F.N.F.L., and after achieving victory by the side of its Allies, the French Navy, reformed, rebuilt, and rejuvenated, will rise again from its ashes.

The Angel appearing to the Three Maries by HUBERT *and* JOHN VAN EYCK

THE PAINTER'S ATTITUDE TO NATURE

WILLIAM GIBSON, Keeper of the National Gallery, late Reader in History of Art, London University, and Deputy Director of Courtauld Institute

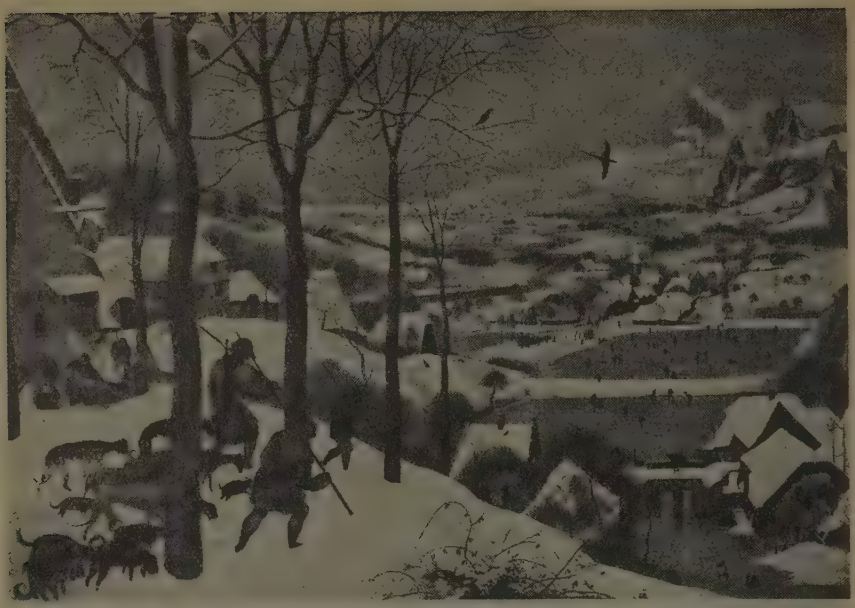
ALMOST everyone interested in landscape-painting must have compared pictures he has studied with the actual scenes before him as he walks the country. In doing so he must have had brought constantly before his mind the very different things which artists of different periods and schools produce when painting the same subject. The difference is more apparent in landscape than in pictures of historical or fictional events, where the fact that the scene depicted is itself a creation of the artist's imagination disguises to some extent the peculiarities of his vision of it. In this article, in which we shall be considering the reasons for these differences of vision and their implications, it will be preferable, therefore, to confine ourselves to landscape, in which the reader can compare pictures with, if not their actual subject, at least subjects similar enough to the latter to make no difference.

It is an obvious fact, then, that in painting what amounts to the same scene, the van Eycks, for example, produced something which looks very different from what Monet produced. But in inquiring why this is so, we throw considerable light, I think, on the part which representation

Haystacks *by* CLAUDE MONET

plays in painting. The simplest answer is that the different results are due to differences in skill. But this position is clearly untenable. It is impossible to conceive greater skill of eye and hand, greater mastery over his medium than van Eyck had, while if it is to the later painters that inferiority is imputed, we must assume that the whole body of later artists were so much inferior as to have to abandon methods perfectly successfully employed by the lesser followers of van Eyck. If we shift our ground slightly and, while admitting that van Eyck had the technical accomplishment to produce a Monet landscape, explain that he did not do so because he had not thought of this better way of depicting nature; if we say, in short, that he had the skill, but not the method, our answer is still not satisfactory. All that we can justly say is that van Eyck had a method distinct from Monet's, a method demanding the utmost skill, and that van Eyck was completely master of it. The rest is pure assumption. It is not merely lack of skill or knowledge which prevented van Eyck from painting like Monet: he was deliberately trying to produce a different kind of picture. We must suppose, therefore, that in painting landscapes different artists have had different purposes in mind. In this article we shall consider a few of the chief different types of landscape picture, and, by comparing them with nature, we shall try to get some idea of what the artists who painted them were aiming at.

We may suitably begin with one of the examples already given, the van Eycks. If the landscape setting of any of their pictures, that of *The Angel appearing to the Three Maries*, for example, is compared with a similar landscape in nature, it will be noted that the artist has not merely given the general shapes and textures of the trees, grass and hills, as he would take them in in glancing at the scene in nature. He has examined each of them separately and closely, studying, for example, at close range the shape of the individual leaves, and the way they are arranged differently on the different trees. Then, in painting his picture, he has described what he had previously



Winter Landscape *by* PETER BRUEGEL

learnt about each particular thing—leaves, grass, and flowers. It can be seen from his pictures that he was intensely interested in the details of things and, although one does not know exactly the way in which he worked, one can imagine him as he went about the countryside noting the different shapes of leaves and flowers either in his head or in drawings, perhaps taking specimens home with him to study. The knowledge thus acquired he wished to put into his pictures. This, it will be noticed, is far more than he could see in looking at the landscape from the position from which it is viewed in the picture. At the same time he has introduced something into the picture which unites the separate objects together, namely light. This is not a matter of shading, of painting, that is to say, one part of an object darker than another to describe its shape, but of describing light as a thing in itself, playing on all the objects and giving unity to the details.

In the landscapes of the van Eycks there is a sense of light throughout the picture. But it is more noticeable generally in the background than the foreground, and it is subordinate to the main interest, the statement about the details of things. This is clear enough if these pictures are compared with nature, when it will be seen how much it is sacrificed to detailed description. In the landscapes of Peter Bruegel, the balance is changed. The artist still shows considerable interest in detail, but this is overshadowed by what he has to say about the season and the time of day. The effect of leaden sky and snow could hardly have been better observed than in his winter landscape in Vienna, or the sense of cold, as the huntsmen set out with their dogs, more vividly recorded. The varying seasons, times of day, and weather have a strong emotive force on most people; and it is not surprising that the desire to express their influence on his feelings should be one of the main purposes of the landscape painter.

There is, however, one other purpose which has engaged the attention of landscape painters as much as their reactions to nature's moods. This purpose is very clearly evident in the painting of Giovanni di Paolo, a Sienese artist roughly contemporary with the van Eycks. I think if one were asked to sum up in one word the difference between such a landscape of his as that in his *Meeting of Christ and St. John Baptist* and, say, the van Eycks' landscape of *The Angel appearing to the Three Maries*, one would do so in the

word 'pattern'. We have imagined the Flemish artist as noting with delight the details of nature as he went about, how the shape of the leaves of different trees differ, and even the individual differences in the leaves of one tree, and we have thought of him, when he set himself to paint a landscape, as putting down everything of this kind that he had learnt by close examination on many past occasions. In the case of such an artist as Giovanni di Paolo, one has to imagine quite a different procedure. One has to imagine him, as he walks the country, noting how the irregular shapes of nature suggest to him more regular shapes, how a stretch of small adjoining fields suggests a series of flat spaces bounded by straight lines, and—once he has arrived at that idea—how, by making the roads more precisely straight, he can fit them also into this pattern. Then, when he considers the rocks, he finds that they, too, suggest a more regular pattern, a pattern of a jagged kind which conveys the rugged, jagged nature of the real rocks. Later, when he comes to paint a landscape, he combines these patterns, suggested by his study of nature, into one large pattern. In doing so, he is satisfying his desire for order and rhythm. The satisfaction of this desire stimulates the emotions strongly as do nature's moods, and it appears to have much greater emotive force in the majority of minds than the love of individual detail.

Pattern-making persists, like the influence of nature's moods, as one of the chief concerns of the painter of landscape, and we may notice it again in the seventeenth century in the work of Nicolas Poussin. By this period there was a tradition of landscape-painting, a common ground, that is to say, of practice, evolved from the methods of their predecessors, from which the artists started, and which each modified to suit his individual purpose. The tradition, developed in this manner, included the more persistent interests of landscape-painters, the description of atmosphere, the imposition of order and, to some extent, the description of detail. Compared, therefore, with Giovanni di Paolo, there is considerable play of light in Poussin's pictures. But if one compares his Diogenes landscape in the Louvre with the Bruegel already discussed, or with such contemporary Dutch work as the Haarlem landscapes of Ruisdael, one is at once aware of a sense of arrangement which is absent from the latter. One's eye is caught at once by the *repoussoir* of the foreground trees, bushes and bank, with its elliptical shape repeated in the sheet of water behind it. One is also aware, I think, of something deliberate about the perfect placing of the stretch

The Meeting of Christ and St. John Baptist
by GIOVANNI DI PAOLO

of water. Compare the picture, then, with nature. The rendering of the light is far from vivid, even allowing for the effect of time, and, although the light is truthfully observed, it has been chosen so that it comes from a low and narrow source, so as to give shading to the objects, and to bring out their volumes.

The forms are natural as compared with those of Giovanni di Paolo but as one examines the picture it is their rhythm and order that dominate one's mind. The elliptical *repoussoir* creates a space behind itself into which the eye is led in an undulating movement along the lines of the road, and then in a more fluent sweep along the banks of the river. And the mind, projected into this space, responds to the rhythmical intervals of the hillocks, trees and buildings and to the rhythmical relationships of their forms. The Diogenes landscape is not so extreme an example of pattern-making as the Sienese painting: the emphasis of

Diogenes discarding his Bowl *by* NICOLAS POUSSIN

its design is lessened by the introduction of light, and its pattern is modified by a greater regard for natural shapes. Its primary concern is, however, the same: the emotional stimulus of order.

Its primary concern, I have said. It will be remembered, also, that in the other landscapes which we have considered, the painter did not devote himself exclusively to the one interest which especially attracted him—with the possible exception of Giovanni di Paolo, and even in this instance a case can be made for other interests subsidiary to pattern-making. This in itself suggests that these painters set about their different purposes in landscape-painting without making a deliberate, conscious choice of aim, and the theoretical and critical statements of the past support the view. The van Eycks do not seem to have said to themselves, 'I shall try to describe in paint all that I know about all the objects which I put into my landscape,' or Bruegel, 'I shall merely show the effects of light and shade and atmosphere, which produce certain moods in me when I look at nature.' Instead, the artist, feeling an interest in landscape which he did not stop to identify, set out to paint it; and if he were naturally interested in nature's moods, he naturally stressed the elements in the scene which expressed these moods, while, if he was naturally interested in pattern, he naturally stressed the pattern.

But a change in this respect came about in the late nineteenth century. The group of French painters called the Impressionists deliberately asked themselves what their purpose was in painting. Their first answer was 'to describe what we see.' They then asked themselves 'What precisely do we mean by that?' Their answer was to draw a distinction between what one sees with one's eyes and what one knows with one's mind as a result of seeing. There is not space to discuss the distinction fully, but Zola's statement on the painting of Monet will help to make its meaning clear. 'A head placed against a wall is only a patch more or less white against a background more or less grey; and the coat by the side of the face becomes, for example, a patch more or less blue, placed beside the patch more or less white.' To put it crudely, the Impressionist did not think of his scene as made up of a number of separate objects, or of light playing on a number of separate objects, but simply as a series of patches of colour. As, therefore, Monet before the view in the illustration did not think of

Gardanne *by* PAUL CÉZANNE

painting a yellow haystack in a green field, but of painting the actual patches of colour that met his eye, he noticed that the haystacks were not just yellow patches, but a large number of differently coloured patches, made up, for example, of the colour of the light and of the greens reflected from the field, as well as the yellow local colour of the haystacks themselves. Moreover, as he wanted to state exactly what his eye saw, he wished to describe the vibrancy of the light and the intensity of the colour, so he broke up the flat surface of his patches by little touches to give vibrancy; and to get intensity used touches of pure, or nearly pure, colour which would blend together at a distance forming the mixed colour he wanted.

As the Impressionist's purpose is to paint exactly what he sees, it is the opposite in one respect of the pattern-making artist's, which is to adjust what he sees to a pattern out of his head. We have already contrasted Monet's landscapes with van Eyck's, by way of illustrating broadly the fact that landscapes by different artists are very different things. But the significance of the Impressionist type of landscape is better understood by comparing it with formal landscape-painting, and best of all with that sort of formal landscape-painting which was produced at the same time, and which has affinities with it in brushwork and scale of colour. The view of Gardanne on which Cézanne based the picture illustrated here is known. The pyramid which the artist constructs so firmly, building up his solid blocks of trees and houses, one above the other to the apex of the tower, is only most faintly suggested by the original view. But even without knowledge of the scene or a photograph for comparison, Cézanne's purpose is evident. The exact placing of the inward-curving line in the foreground, the careful spacing of the perpendiculars, and the precisely adjusted emphasis in the various forms, disclose it clearly enough to anyone who has studied the natural appearance of things. Cézanne is reported to have said that his purpose was to make of Impressionism something solid and durable like the art of the museums—that is like the old pattern-making art—and to do Poussin again from nature—to adapt, that is to say, Poussin's pattern-making to the Impressionist technique.

Cézanne made a deliberate choice of formal construction as his principal motive and was aware of this to a degree to which Poussin probably was not. Now, once formal construction has consciously been chosen as the main objective, it is an obvious, in fact an inevitable step, for the question to be asked, 'If I change about the position of things as Cézanne did in his pictures to fit into a pattern, why should I confine myself

Seaport *by* GEORGES BRAQUE

to readjusting them in positions which they could occupy in nature? Why should I not rearrange them according to some other rule or, for that matter, in any way that comes into my head that will make an exciting rhythmical pattern?' On the same principle one might propose taking bits of different objects, and of the same objects seen from different angles, and rearranging them freely—a bit of one object beside a bit of another—so as to form a pattern, as Braque has done with bits of sails, masts, quay, tower and water in his picture of a seaport. The final stage in this line of development is, of course, to give up objects from nature altogether and to make a pattern out of shapes like spheres, cubes and cylinders, or circles, curves and straight lines. Such developments are outside our present scope, as the abandonment of natural objects means the abandonment of all direct connection with landscape. But to avoid misunderstanding, this much may be said of them. Their possibilities are not confined to pattern-making alone. Having become familiar with the idea of composing *pattern* by a free association of natural or geometric shapes, the artist who, like Bruegel, 'is interested in expressing emotional states other than those evoked by pattern as such, has open to him the possibility of expressing those states also by a free association of representational or non-representational forms.

IS ADVERTISING A MENACE?

PETER CROMWELL

I

ARE advertisements important? Is it worth your while reading an article about them? In a fairly normal pre-war year, 1935 for example, 39 million pounds were spent in Britain on advertising in newspapers and magazines alone. That is 39 million pounds spent to influence *your* habits and way of living. Considerably more money was spent to influence you through other 'media'. Over a million pounds was spent on radio advertising, from Radio Luxemburg, Radio Normandie, and other Continental stations. Over ten millions were spent by advertisers in getting you to do what they wanted by means of posters—on hoardings, in the tube stations, inside buses, etc. Finally, to make quite sure you did not escape, it was thought safer to lay the bait right under your nose on your breakfast table. So 50 millions were spent on sending you advertising matter through the post.

Whatever view, therefore, may be held about the desirability of advertising, it must be admitted that its importance as a social influence is beyond doubt. Whether you like it or not, advertising plays a part in your life, and has come to be a vital factor in the nation's economic structure.

Just now we are in a period of economic transition. The great battle of more versus less control over industry will break out in all fury as soon as the Battle of Germany closes. During this period the whole structure of our economic machine will undergo examination. And that part of the machine concerned with distribution will receive especial scrutiny. As early as last February *The Times*, following considerable correspondence in its columns on distribution costs, published a leading article[1] in which was stated: 'Letters from correspondents continue to show anxiety over the wide gap between the prices paid for goods by consumers and the return received by producers. Lord Woolton said in the House of Lords a couple of years ago that the retail and distributive trades "represent one of the most expensive and luxurious factors in our national life". How far is this true, and, so far as it is true, how can the necessary economies best be effected?' Advertising is frequently considered to be the main element in this alleged 'expensive and luxurious' system of distribution. The remark is frequently heard: 'I wouldn't buy that brand; you're just paying for the advertising. Somebody's got to pay for all that advertising, haven't they?' Advertising, therefore, can be expected to be in the thickest part of the battle.

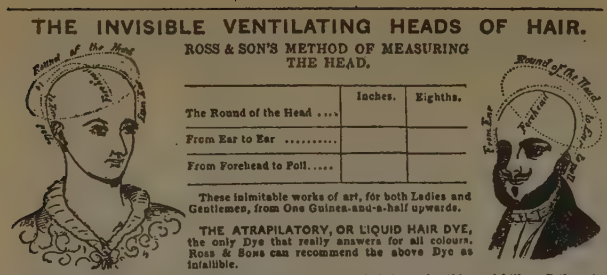
If advertising should come under certain controls, or be forbidden altogether, it will not only be the advertising agents who will be affected. It will affect, for good or evil, not only all manufacturers and merchants who have something to sell, not only all newspapers and magazines which depend for a large part of their revenue on the sale of space in their publications for the purposes of advertising. It will affect every man, woman and child who has more than a penny in his pocket to spend on what he likes. It is, therefore, desirable that we should get our thinking clear on advertising; that we should penetrate to the truth of the matter.

II

What *is* advertising? We must be sure about that. It is merely an instrument, one of the instruments, of selling. Advertising is not a modern thing. It existed thousands of years ago, when an Egyptian, or Persian, or other resident of the Mediterranean cradle of civilisation, first put up a sign outside his workshop to indicate to others the nature of his craft. That was the first advertisement, and its function was no different from that of the hoarding you have just passed on the way back from your office, or of any of the advertisements in this copy of WORLD REVIEW. The function of this primitive sign was to impart certain information and impressions which would lead the recipient to take certain action beneficial to the advertiser: in this particular case, to enter the workshop and give the craftsman an order. No modern advertisement, however sophisticated or indirect in method, has a different function or a different objective.

In radio advertising the information so imparted to the potential purchaser is by word of mouth. But it is still advertising. Similarly, when a house-to-house salesman calls on you and imparts to you information about a vacuum cleaner, by word of mouth instead of through the medium of a printed notice, it is still advertising —though this type of advertising is generally

[1] 25th February 1944.



Advertising is not a modern thing, though perhaps its methods have recently become more slick. Here is an advertisement from Part II of David Copperfield *in the late nineteenth century. Compare this with the opposite page*

called 'salesmanship'. When a manufacturer's commercial traveller makes his calls on the trade, it is still a form of advertising. There is no difference in purpose or function between the manufacturer's advertisement in a trade magazine, his traveller's call, or a mailed sales letter. They are all advertising.

Immediately the basic nature of advertising is comprehended, the problem of forbidding advertising by regulation is seen in its true light. If you forbid advertisements in one form, why allow them in another? If you forbid a company to impart news of its product in a newspaper, why allow it to send salesmen round saying the same thing by word of mouth? Those people who thoughtlessly say that all advertising should be stopped are really arguing for the abolition of all competition, and for a Socialist state. If this is what they want let them realise it, and say so clearly. But most of them don't want that at all. They are just ignorant muddleheads.

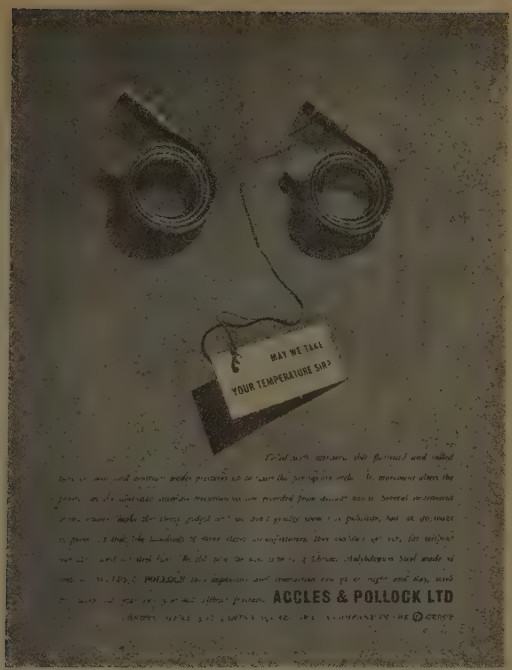
III

The fact is that mass-advertising, as we might term the large-scale advertising methods of today, is the necessary corollary of mass-production. It is the most economical instrument of mass-distribution. It has come naturally into existence because it fulfils an economic function; and for this reason it justifies itself completely from an *economic* point of view. This is the answer to all those people who doubt the effectiveness of advertising as a sales method, to those countless ignoramuses who are continually heard saying that 'advertising never influences anybody.' If you ask these scoffers what brand of cigarettes they smoke, or what brand of soap they use, or go into their kitchens, and see what brands of tea, coffee, cocoa, washing powder, salt, custard powder, suet and other household commodities are on the shelves, you will have a good measure of the way advertising has influenced *them*—without their knowing it, of course.

Then there are those people who admit that advertising is effective in stimulating demand for a product, but who insist that the purchaser has to pay for this advertising in the price of the product. This, at first glance, seems a reasonable view. The selling price of a product has to be fixed so that all costs are covered. And as advertising is a cost, the price must be fixed to include it. Otherwise, who pays for the advertising, anyway?

So runs the argument. The flaw in it, however, is this. In order to have mass-production you have got to have mass-distribution, which means you need mass-selling. Advertising, by stimulating consumer demand, brings into existence the large-scale market which will absorb mass-produced articles. It is a fat lot of good a manufacturer mass-producing goods if he cannot sell them. Advertising, therefore, enables all the well-known economies of mass-production to be achieved, and in this way actually lowers the *unit* cost of an article, just as the purchase of expensive plant essential to mass-production will lower the *unit* cost.

But if a manufacturer produces goods of the type people want, and by means of mass-production can price them correspondingly low, then surely the public will buy these articles, without any advertising, in sufficient quantity to allow



An example of the best type of advertising today from the Architectural Review 1944. *We have come a long way since the times of Dickens*

Cecil D. Notley Advertising Ltd.

mass-production with all its economies to continue? So runs the counter argument. The answer to this is one that the advertiser will never admit. It is that without advertising the public *don't* want the goods. Or, put more in the language of the advertiser: they are not *aware* of their want. It is at this point that those in favour of advertising come into basic conflict with those who, because they feel it does harm to the community, are against all advertising. In the meaning of the word *want* in the above sentence is to be found the crux of the whole problem. And one's whole philosophy of life is involved.

IV

If you believe in a rising material standard of living throughout the world; if you wish, with Vice-President Henry Wallace, for 'a quart of milk a day for everybody'; if you are in favour of the abolition of slums and the conquest of dirt and disease; then you cannot be against the use of advertising (although you may be in favour of controlling it). Because it can be proved over and over again that mass-advertising has helped to raise the standard of living. It has done this by educating people to new wants, by making them ambitious to own things they have not had hitherto or, as the anti-advertisers would express it, 'by selling the public things they don't need.' The most obvious example is soap advertising, which has rapidly increased the standards of personal cleanliness among Western peoples, and thus reduced disease and ill-health.

What rubbish! you may say. Advertising is not necessary for this at all. All this can be done, and has been done, by the Soviet Union, with a Socialist economic system. Admittedly. But first realise that you have now agreed that in a non-totalitarian economy—an economy where any free business enterprise is permitted—advertising does aid in the raising of living standards. Moreover, if you adopt the argument that it is better then to have a Socialist economy, you will still find you cannot do without advertising. It merely changes its name and becomes 'state propaganda'. Mass-information (another name for modern advertising) is absolutely essential *as a method of communication* to any society which wishes to enjoy the advantages of mass-production, whether this society has freedom

of business enterprise or a state-controlled economy.

You can, of course, take the other philosophical view: that material standards of living do not matter tuppence. You can argue that the teeming millions of Asia, with their incredible infant mortality rate, with malnutrition often descending to famine conditions, with their almost universal illiteracy, and colossal incidence of malignant diseases, are happier than the neurotic middle classes of New York and London. You can say that it is not physical health which counts, but mental health, and that peace of mind amongst peoples is in no way correlative with material standards of living. This argument is very difficult, if not impossible, to gainsay. Such things cannot be proved one way or the other. If this approach to humanity's problems is the correct one, then we need search no further for a condemnation of advertising. In such a case, advertising is nothing but evil.

V

We are left by our analysis, therefore, with the fact that, unless all the tenets of Western material progress be jettisoned, advertising, whether it be called advertising, or state propaganda, or mass-information, or what you will, is an essential technique of modern life. If this be so, cannot, and should not, advertising be controlled?

Let us scrutinise more closely the actual process, the technique of advertising. As we have said, its purpose is to influence people to follow a predetermined course of action. It does this by exposing the person it is wished to influence to a set of emotional and rational impressions. These impressions may take the form of written words, pictures, spoken words, other sounds such as music, and so forth. Whatever form they take, it is these stimuli which cause him to act. The problem facing the advertiser is to select that set of stimuli which will succeed in activating the recipient along the course desired.

Advertising, like all propaganda, is a manipulation of people's emotions and reason for certain *ends*. These ends may be *good ends* or *bad ends*. Apart from this, however, the *means* used, the technique of manipulation, may *in itself* have a beneficial or a deteriorating effect on the human target.

Are the *ends* good or bad? That is the first question. This presumably depends on whether the product advertised is a good product or a bad one, whether its acquisition will be beneficial to the purchaser or harmful. Always assuming that we accept the broad principle that rising material standards of living are desirable, it would seem that the purchase of things like soap, vacuum cleaners, radiograms, automobiles, etc., provided the buyer can afford them, will be beneficial. If he cannot afford them, the desire to purchase the products will stimulate him to work harder, more intelligently and more efficiently, so that he can earn the wherewithal with which to satisfy his requirements.

On the other hand, if the end is to persuade the purchaser to spend money which he can ill afford on buying all sorts of worthless preparations, which will either have no effect on his health or may even prove harmful, then that end is surely an evil one.

Yet the situation is not as simple as all that. In the case of the supposed good ends, it may be that the distribution of 'good' purchases is unsound. For example, a man may spend a disproportionate amount of his income on radios and automobiles, not leaving himself enough with which to buy an adequate supply of protective foods for his family. In the case of the supposed bad ends, even the purchase of coloured water can often be said to have had a curative effect on an illness because of the psychological effect of such a purchase. With the medical profession coming round more and more to the view that psychological factors are a major cause of physical illness—that more people are ill because they are worried than worried because they are ill—this point of justification for certain advertising campaigns cannot be completely disregarded.

VI

But apart from whether the *ends* (i.e. the actions taken as a result of the advertisement) are good or bad, there is the question as to whether the *means* used to obtain those ends (the manipulation *in itself* of his emotions and reason) are beneficial or deleterious to the human target. The answer would seem to depend on how a specific advertisement goes about its work. Some advertisements, taking advantage of the wants which are already felt by people, and of which people are already aware, merely state how a purchase of the product advertised will 'fill' this want, will satisfy this desire. It would seem difficult to contend that such advertisements are harmful, as far as the process they adopt for achieving their ends is concerned. (If the statements are inaccurate or exaggerated, the person may be led to waste money on a product which does not satisfy the desire it promised to satisfy. In this case the result is evil. But this is a criticism of the end rather than of

the means. The actual impact of the advertisement on the consumer's mind is not deleterious in itself. The evil comes when he takes the action of buying the product.)

Other advertisements, on the other hand, are not content with showing how a purchase will fill wants already realised by the reader. They first set about the job of making the reader dissatisfied with his present situation, of creating (or intensifying) the want which the product is intended to satisfy. This sort of advertising achieves its effect by deliberately creating neurosis. It is frequently devastatingly effective in selling the goods. It will first seek to make people feel inferior to others, or isolated from them, or anxious that worse things will soon befall them. When such neurotic conditions have been set up, how much more necessary will the product which alleviates them appear to be? It is not too much to say that some advertisements are like a doctor who deliberately tries to make people ill in order that he may be required to cure them.

It can, of course, be argued that there are certain conditions with which it is desirable to make people dissatisfied. For example, slum dwellings, low standards of personal cleanliness, and so on. It might be considered that mothers, who 'sew up' their children in their clothes for the winter[1], so that they never change them, should be made neurotically ambitious to adopt different practices. And this is where the problem of control of advertising merges into that of social welfare and education. Controlled advertising can play a part in educating the public to run their lives more healthily and more efficiently. Whether neurosis-creating advertising is deleterious to the human target or not will depend therefore on the social value of the changed habit which the advertisement brings about, relative to the psychological maladjustment which the process itself involves.

VII

There would appear to be, therefore, a good case for the control of advertising, though none for its attempted abolition. What forms should this control take, and how should they be implemented?

First, it would seem obvious that all misstatement and exaggeration should be reduced to a minimum. Very few advertisements, if any, lie outright. Some, however, lead the reader to a false conclusion by the skilful use of suggestion and association, in many cases aided, it must be admitted, by the unconscious desire of the reader to deceive himself.

Second, some judgment must be made in the case of neurosis-producing advertising as to whether the neurosis is worth the candle—the candle being the resultant change in social habits.

Third, products which have little or no

[1] This condition was revealed in *Our Towns: A Close-up.* A study made in 1939-42 by the Hygiene Committee of the Women's Group on Public Welfare. *Oxford University Press.* 5s.

What is advertising? The author of this article says that it is one of the instruments of selling. Picture of 'the great white way', New York, show commercial advertisements to sell theatre tickets, chewing gum, etc.

A German 'great white way', showing the same advertising technique of bright lights, used politically, to put over a Nazi Congress in a big way

beneficial effect, except psychological, on the purchaser should not be allowed on the market without the true state of affairs being brought to the notice of the public. To do otherwise is merely to foster superstition. The cure for the people who are ill because they are worried, rather than worried because they are ill, is not to send them to witch-doctors, but to apply proper psychiatric treatment, the increased need for which the medical profession has recently acknowledged.

These questions, however, are not cut-and-dried matters. Mis-statement and exaggeration are often a matter of opinion. Even more are questions such as the value of creating certain neuroses, and the beneficial effect of certain products. The machinery of control must therefore take account of this situation.

It would seem necessary, therefore, to set up some sort of board of judges on which the consumer is represented in strength, while the various industries connected with advertising also have their delegates. Thus we should have representatives of the press, advertising agencies, poster companies, radio transmitting companies (if radio advertising were in existence), retailers, as well as manufacturers of advertised products. On the consumer delegation, it is important that consumers of every type be represented. As far as possible the delegates of the general public should be a small cross-section, consisting of men and women drawn from the various age groups, income levels, geographical areas and occupations. The opinion of one class of consumer as to what is desirable for another class of consumer would otherwise lead to trouble!

VIII

Summing up the question as to whether advertisements are evil, the following statements can be made:

(*a*) Advertising is an important social and economic influence in those nations with a relatively high standard of living, and is likely to play an increasing part as these living standards tend to rise.

(*b*) Because advertising is an economic instrument of selling, it is futile to talk of abolishing advertising without being prepared to abolish all selling activity on the part of business enterprises. Should this be accomplished under a Socialist economy, advertising remains, and merely changes its name to 'state propaganda'.

(*c*) Mass-advertising, as we know it today, is therefore integral to our modern Western civilisation, whether the economic system of a nation is one of free enterprise or is state controlled. This is because mass-advertising is basically no more than mass-information—whether of a true or false nature.

(*d*) While advertising cannot, and should not, be suppressed, it can, and should be, controlled.

(*e*) The best people to do the controlling are representatives of the consuming public working in association with representatives of the industries concerned.

(*f*) Control should aim at limiting the technique of advertising to the imparting of truthful, unexaggerated data regarding the product or service. False conclusions to which the public may be led by inference, or by associative stimuli, should be recognised, and this manipulation of the public's emotions and reason restricted.

Attention is drawn to the review of *Voice of Civilisation*, by Denys Thompson (*Muller*) on page 65

Posters of Mussolini to 'sell' the glorious idea of war against the Abyssinians to the Italians, who are not by nature very martial. This political advertising was used on the steamship transporting Italian troops across the Mediterranean

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS

MARRYING AND GIVING IN MARRIAGE

THE betrothal of the Tzarevitch to the daughter of the Duke of Hesse, granddaughter of Her Majesty the Queen, may prove of supreme interest. No one knows much of the Tzarevitch. Rumour has been busy with his name in a manner that has not been complimentary either to his character or to his resolution. It was reported that the Tzar was contemplating altering the order of succession in consequence of what was said to be a manifest unfitness of the Tzarevitch to undertake the responsibilities of the Empire. Rumour is usually a lying jade, and in this case there is no reason to think that she has been suddenly reformed. The Tzarevitch's marriage, which is to come off before long, is popular in Russia, where there was some fear that he might have married a Prussian. His betrothed is regarded more as an English princess than as a German.

ENGLISH VERSUS FRENCH

A COMPARISON OF MORALS AND MANNERS

THERE is a very interesting article in the *Fortnightly Review*, by Frederick Carrel, on French and English manners.

One great difference between the nations is the way in which they regard the question of morality between the sexes. In France the moral life, according to the English conception, is almost unknown among men, and the condition of mistress is more openly recognised. The majority of the French people consider that flirting is a dishonourable amusement, and that a woman who has once listened to the overtures of a man considers it an act of justice to console him. In England immorality tends to become unbridled, and in its lower forms it almost invariably becomes coarse and intemperate.

But this maintenance of a bold pretension to national purity, however hypocritical it may appear, is a curb on the spread of immorality, since what is unseen is less likely to be imitated that what is seen, and this is a distinct advantage for the English system.

It must be admitted also, that the virtue of a married woman, which the throne requires as a passport to recognition, is more general than in France, and the English woman possesses a natural, inborn desire to guard her virtue which passion frequently does not succeed in destroying. Sentiment and not passion is the basis of the ordinary English marriage.

The greatest degrees of immorality in England are to be found in the highest and in the lowest classes—the two classes which, from two opposite causes, are best able to hide their proclivities. At either end of the social ladder there is a relaxation of moral principles.

In matters of sanitation and cleanliness the Englishman is far in advance of the Frenchman, but in Art the French have their revenge.

AN AGENT FOR COMMONSENSE SOCIALISM

WHY could not the well-to-do suburbanite invite, if only once a week, to his garden and his lawn-tennis court some of his own people in his counting-house or factory, who are fond of cycling, and who could therefore transport themselves without expense from residences in the streets and alleys to the region of villa residences which lie on the outskirts of London?

GARDEN PARTIES: NEW STYLE

NOTHING could be more natural or more simple than such an invitation. There is no necessity for asking the cyclists into the house unless it were wet.

Cycling—1893

SCIENCE FRONT

SUPERMEN?

WHO remembers, in the days of peace, those long arguments amongst football fans debating whether it was fair for the Plymouth team to take drugs which increased their stamina? Was it sportsmanlike to steal an advantage over your opponent by using modern science? That was really the first testing ground of drugs which have now become important in war, where sportsmanship is not a matter for consideration. An armed force naturally wants the most efficient men, and therefore feeds them with the best food, gives them plenty of healthy exercise, and looks after their morale; from this it is but a short step further to give them chemical substances which increase their strength and endurance, or improve their night vision. It is reasonable, and not necessarily particularly harmful. It is a field where the research scientist in his backroom laboratory is as vital as the front line commander, because he can turn one man into two, or give them some of the senses of a bat in the dark: this is still work in progress. Probably the benzedrene group of adrenalin-like drugs are the best known to the man in the street as useful in this way. Schoolboys have taken them on examination days, well-known broadcasters take them just before they go on the air, to stave off 'microphone fright'. One of them in particular, amphetamine, is used not only for various purposes by airmen and infantry, but is part of the standard ration in every ship's lifeboat, ready to aid the torpedoed party when the need arises. It is hardly necessary to add that it is foolish to take these drugs if there is no need: they are not completely safe.

In the general field of drugs affecting human senses much still remains to be done. There are still many natural products uninvestigated, but which may prove to be valuable.

Amongst these the most fascinating is undoubtedly mescal, the 'peyote' of the South-West American Indians and Mexicans, which is obtained from the dumpling cactus, and used to produce visions and hallucinations, usually for religious purposes.

When first taken the drug produces a feeling only of sickness, and after a while the disturbed vision of a bilious attack follows. But that is only the beginning. As the drug has more and more effect, one begins to see coloured lights and patterns everchanging, and these give place to actual scenes or visions which are said to be indescribably beautiful. Finally, at the height of the intoxication, sense impressions become totally confused. The bark of a dog is not heard but instead causes flashes of coloured light to be seen; lights themselves may be felt as stroking of a hand; smells are appreciated as sounds, and so on. The drug evidently acts fairly high up in the brain: knowledge of the way it works might help psychology and throw great light on some types of insanity. Its effects on the senses, particularly that of sight, may enable man to enlarge his world, his consciousness, directly, instead of through instruments, and the men of the future will then become the supermen of romance.

But what about the danger that mescal-taking might come to rival opium as a form of escapism? No, it is not very great. The stuff is pleasant enough at the time, but the hangover next morning. . . .! It will need plenty of research to overcome that.

COLLABORATORS

SOME startling new facts have just come to light which may very well change our views on the nature and treatment of a whole range of diseases, and our views on nutrition too. It has been common knowledge since we became vitamin-conscious that a diet lacking in Vitamin C led to scurvy, which could be cured by Vitamin C tablets and likewise that lack of Vitamin B_1 eventually produced a neuritis culminating in the disease called beri-beri. This knowledge came from experiments on animals, and from observations of people on vitamin-poor diets, who were benefited by vitamin administration. Just recently, with the idea of finally tidying up the subject and confirming previous results, some American scientists kept a number of volunteers on a special fully analysed experimental diet which lacked Vitamin B_1. They measured the daily B_1 excretion in urine and fæces, and watched for the first signs of ill-health attributable to vitamin deficiency in all the nine subjects of the experiment. Within five weeks four of the nine were showing such signs, and their excretion of B_1 had dropped almost to nothing. But the other five people obstinately persisted in excreting the vitamin although they were receiving none in their food, and kept healthy into the bargain. It looked at first sight as though, unlike most men, they could make the stuff for themselves and therefore it was an *inessential* accessory food factor for them. But the experimenters saw another possibility. Everybody has harmless germs — bacteria, and

various micro-organisms—living in their intestines, and special sulphonamides, succinyl sulphathiazole, for instance, will, taken in suitable doses by mouth, stop the activities of many of them temporarily. Perhaps some of these germs were making Vitamin B_1, and then handing it over to their host, man: in which case dosing with sulpha drug should stop it. This was tried and found to be the case; the people getting along well on the vitamin-free diet had germs in their intestines making it for them. This was not very surprising, since bacteria are often much better at that kind of chemistry than we are. In fact, other cases of the same sort of collaboration are known. The termites, or white ants, for instance, eat nothing but wood, but are quite unable to digest it themselves. They rely on micro-organisms in their stomachs to ferment the wood, and then they absorb the products of fermentation. This is proved by warming the termites in an oven to a temperature insufficient to harm them but adequate to slay the more sensitive micro-organisms. After this treatment the termite dies if offered its usual diet of wood, because it cannot digest it.

Cattle, too, rely on germs to ferment the cellulose of vegetable matter, and it was recently shown (as mentioned some time ago in this column) that the germs in the cow's stomach can make protein for the benefit of the cow under certain conditions, a most important discovery for practical agriculture, indicating what alternative foodstuffs may be used when scarcity or cost make the usual food prohibitive.

In other words, the bacteriology of the intestines, from being a rather neglected subject, is springing into front rank. We have got to find out more about our silent microscopic collaborators: what they can do for us; what conditions inside the gut they like best; what diet they prefer; why some people have some kinds of germs, and others different sorts altogether. It may even prove to be the beginning of an understanding of some of the more puzzling intestinal diseases of man.

DOES SCIENCE PAY?

When a government or a firm is urged to expend some of its money in financing scientific research, it may reasonably ask what it is likely to see in the way of a return. Some interesting figures were recently given at a meeting of the Geological Society of London and the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy. They were discussing the contribution of geological surveys to the wealth of some of our Colonies. Exact figures can only be given for the value of some of the minerals discovered, but they are striking enough. In the Gold Coast, the expenditure on the geological survey is only £7,000 a year; but this small sum has resulted in the discovery of diamonds to the value (up to the end of 1939) of seven and a half million pounds, and of manganese ore to the value of ten million. The direct royalties paid to the Colonial Government by the producers has been £42,000, i.e. enough to keep the survey going for 60 years. In Sierra Leone, the returns were even better; one geologist (whose salary was not quoted, but is certainly not much more than £1,000—if that) discovered iron ore and diamonds which have yielded over one and a half million pounds, and a direct revenue from royalties of about £175,000.

These figures show a return on capital incomparably better than any other kind of investment. And they represent only part of the story; they leave out of account all the other uses of a geological survey, in discovering water supplies, suitable agricultural land, building stones, etc. These other more general benefits are bound to be realised in any comparatively undeveloped country, but of course the discovery of really valuable mineral deposits is a more chancy affair. When it does happen, however, it will pay for a great deal of survey work the value of which is less immediately obvious. Since one can never tell exactly which Colonies are most likely to contain these hidden treasures, and since one will always be interested in water supplies and building materials, the obvious course is to have fairly extensive geological surveys everywhere. That may sound Utopian at first sight. But we are so far from it that there is a long way to go before one need think geological surveys are overdone. In all our Colonial Empire there are not more than about fifty government geologists—for an area about thirty times the size of England. Several big oil companies employ more than that in their own fairly small areas; and Russia has trained 5,000 and turned them loose to explore the Union with results the Germans, at any rate, can fully appreciate.

Tin Mining in Nigeria, Africa

ON WAR

BY GENERAL KARL VON CLAUSEWITZ

REVIEWED BY W. E. HART

CLAUSEWITZ *had a romantic appearance. But his views led to the terrible theory of Total War*

AUTHORSHIP has seldom been considered a desirable accomplishment for a military man, and especially so in the old Prussian Army. From 1675, when the Grand Elector of Brandenburg defeated the Swedes at Fehrbellin, thus laying the foundation stone of Prussia's military future, until the Napoleonic War against Prussia in 1806–7, the rigid Prussian military machine continued to borrow its concepts of military strategy entirely from the classic military leaders of Greece, Rome or Carthage; from the works of Montecuccoli, Marshal of the 'Holy Roman Empire' of Germany; and from French generals, especially Turenne and Condé.

Unhesitatingly were the strategical directions accepted by such Prussian war lords as King Frederick William I, known as the Soldiers' King, his son, Frederick the Great, and famous Marshals of the Prussian Army like von Schwerin, Winterfeld, the Duke of Brunswick, General of Cavalry von Seydlitz and others. During the period of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries these leaders were concerned almost exclusively with tactical details, organisational schemes, and the innumerably less important and intricate details of army planning with the sole aim of making their war machine into something purely Prussian. In fact, the thoroughness with which tactical details were dealt with explains their amazing barrenness in the broad field of strategy. Frederick the Great has often been considered the creator of a special brand of Prussian strategy, or school of military thought, but this assumption is quite incorrect. He merely mastered to perfection, and applied what he had learned from non-Prussian sources.

To Karl von Clausewitz, a Prussian staff officer who witnessed the downfall of Prussia's stale military directorate in 1806–7, and actively contributed to Napoleon's final defeat in 1815, belongs the privilege of creating a new school of military ideas, or the precise definition and explanation of then existing theories. Known to the world as the author of *Vom Kriege* (*On War*), Clausewitz was Chief of Staff to Thielmann's Corps, which delivered the fatal and decisive blow to Marshal Grouchy at Wavre on 18 June 1815. His spectacular success in this appointment opened a new era in modern continental military history, wherein the Chief of Staff has at least become as important, and perhaps even more so, than the Commander-in-Chief, to whom originally he was merely attached as a permanent advisor, a tradition truly borne out by the Elder Moltke during 1864–66 and 1870–71.

On War was written when Clausewitz was still in his forties, although he was already at this comparatively young age a general in important commands. It reveals in full the experience he gained in all of the five campaigns in which he served, including that of 1812, when he saw service in the Russian Army. His vast, comprehensive study is strikingly free from the small and confusing details of specific battles and campaigns

found in the treatises on strategy of his predecessors. Instead, he takes the broad general view of war; states his observations directly and boldly, and uses unhesitatingly the general principles of logic, and even philosophy, though in his philosophy the influence of no particular school is discernible.

Vom Kriege comprises three volumes, each of which is divided into various 'books'. Volumes II and III have, however, lost much of their importance and bearing on the progress of military thought today. It is only the first volume (which is arranged in four 'books') that maintains a unique and practical value to students of war, especially those inside the German General Staffs. From the early decades of the last century until 1944, Volume I of this Bible of Strategy has been their guide, chiefly because it defines the duties of a modern state at war towards its army so clearly, and lays down the obligations of the state so precisely that not even the greatest minds of Wilhelm II's and Hitler's General Staff could suggest any improvement on Clausewitz's all-embracing and indisputable deductions on the art of war.

Clausewitz's great work, stated briefly, is the exposition of 'total war', in its most devastating, Prussian form! In fact, its frank and brutal revelations were made in such a blunt and undisguised way that for generations the non-German mind found it difficult to grasp its full implications. This is amply borne out in the many incorrect translations of the work that have been made in various languages. The English version of Colonel Graham, published nearly forty years ago, is probably the most conspicuous in this respect by its mis-translation, and complete misinterpretation, of Clausewitz's cardinal sentence: '*Krieg ist die Fortfuehrung der Diplomatie mit anderen Mitteln*' which he wrongly translates into English as 'War is a continuation of policy by other means.' This would imply that war, and the attendant servants of war, such as the Commander-in-Chief, the General Staff and the principal field commanders, together with the forces under their command, are merely the tools of a statesman for the continuation of his policy. Clausewitz however distinctly refers to *Diplomatie*, i.e. diplomacy, and wishes to make it clearly understood that the peacetime actions of any government or statesman must always be placed within the framework of the grandiose schemes of the strategist. As a statesman may be allowed to use 'diplomacy' and its weapons as the means of securing his aims in times of peace, so also will the strategist in wartime substitute diplomacy by war and all its manifold operations, such as the movements of troops and the ensuing battle or battles. This in turn implies, and anticipates, the continuous and clear predominance of the strategist (who need not necessarily be a general) both in peace and war.

Thus can we begin to understand the Prussian claim, that in order to wage Total War the Total State must be created. This startling assumption, put forward at the beginning of the nineteenth century, could intelligently be appreciated only within Clausewitz's own circle, a fact which should not surprise the student of history, if we bear in mind the predominantly spiritual qualities of nineteenth-century liberalism in every country of the civilised world, with the exception of Prussia. Only then can we begin to realise how far removed from the main current of European thought was the concept of Total War, and take a more realistic view of Clausewitz and his influence on modern war.

In Book 1 of Volume I, entitled 'On the Nature of War', Clausewitz starts off with such generalities as: 'the bodily exertion of the fighting soldier in war'; and 'information in war' wherein, incidentally, Clausewitz laid the foundation for the importance now placed upon modern military cartography. In another section, he discusses 'Friction in War'; and shows how, to explain it in more modern terms, a single tank may break down in a narrow mountain pass, thereby upsetting the timetables and careful plans of the Commander-in-Chief. In his 'Concluding Remarks', Clausewitz sums up the general problems surveyed, and shows how they can be dealt with. His remedy is 'the habitation of an army to war', advice that sounds simple, but is nevertheless hardly ever sufficiently considered by the Commanders-in-Chief of peacetime armies.

Book 2 deals with the more direct problems that surround the fluid term of 'War'. Thus in Chapter III—'Is War an Art or a Science?'—Clausewitz defines his question by stating that 'the term art can only be used when the aim is to execute something which has been learned', whilst science can be applied 'when only knowledge is the aim as, for example, in mathematics or astronomy.' He then goes on to claim that *war is an art*, using the term 'art' in its fullest and most significant sense. Over 120 years later, Field Marshal Wavell, one of the few men who will go down into the annals of military history as a great strategist, corrected this by stating that the terms Clausewitz attributed to war change with the conceptions of the age in which they are used. Thus if art is predominant in the spiritual life of a nation, war will claim it as its qualifying

GNEISENAU (above) *and* SCHARNHORST (right) *were the two military reformers who reorganised the Prussian Army after its disastrous defeats by Napoleon*

attribute; but if science prevails, the qualifying term applied will change accordingly.

Clausewitz, lacking the wider range of vision of Lord Wavell, is even more emphatic and didactic in a further chapter entitled 'Criticism'. Here Clausewitz emphasises that in military history it is more difficult than anywhere else to distinguish between cause and effect, and to follow the accompanying circumstances. Small as some things may at first appear to a military student, they may nevertheless basically determine and influence a Commander-in-Chief's handling of a campaign. In this statement Clausewitz went far beyond the narrow conception of his age, and opened the way for criticism and analysis on the conduct of war by the Commanders-in-Chief of the future.

Passing from the detailed examination of war, Clausewitz entitles Book 3, 'On Strategy in General', and explains this as 'the art of the use of battles as a means to obtain the object of the war.' Here he dwells upon the influence of *Moral Forces* on strategy. No better example of the permeation of Clausewitz's influence through the whole of Prussian and German policy during the past century is revealed than here. And the historian will find that the so-called Bismarckian 'Imponderables' are directly traceable to the author of *Vom Kriege*.

Clausewitz also points out that, though great generals, such as Prince Eugene and Marlborough, won campaigns without the exploitation of the virtues of the common soldier, how much greater their success would have been had their kings and governments taken steps to secure the enthusiasm of this enormous reservoir of latent strength. It becomes clear that Dr. Goebbels enjoys his existence, and attributes his £450,000,000 a year budget to the influence of the author of *On War*!

Amplifying his observations on the importance of *morale*, Clausewitz follows up his deductions by a chapter called 'On Boldness'. And with his flair for single sentences of philosophical implication, he writes: 'Boldness directed by a master intelligence is the stamp of the hero.' This, read against the background of his time, reveals a revolutionary conception. The association of the very word boldness with military affairs was a startling break with the conservatism of military thought in Prussia, and a novel interpretation of conduct, which heretofore had been rendered almost sacrosanct by tradition.

As the enlightenment of the nineteenth century progressed, exposing the younger sections of Prussian staff circles to its influence, Clausewitz received the praise and glory of being not only a great strategist, but also the bearer of modern thought into the narrow circle of Prussian tacticians, thereby widening their outlook to that of strategists of standing, if not of world fame.

In another chapter of Book 3, headed 'On Stratagem', Clausewitz describes it as the art of 'imitating an intention, and a form of deceit, though it differs from what is commonly called deceit, as it implies no breach of word or confidence.' Operationally, he cites the example of how forces, detached from the main strength, may bring about a *ruse de guerre*, though his observations are transplanted into the realm of strategy.

In Book No. 4, 'On Combat', Clausewitz descends to the plane of battle and the technical execution of strategy, discussing such problems as captured territory, the forces of the enemy, the progress of hostilities, etc. His definition of a 'combat' victory, as distinct from a general campaign victory, is divided into three stages. First, the infliction of greater physical losses to the enemy comparable to your own. Secondly, the greater moral weakening of the enemy than your own forces without material factors being considered. Thirdly, the clear admittance of this, by the enemy relinquishing his original intentions.

Still remaining on the issue of the battle as a

component of strategy in general, he writes a further chapter on 'Strategic Means of Utilising Victory'. Here he opens up the possibility of pursuing an enemy after a single battle, so that a campaign that might have been planned to contain many battles to achieve a decision can be quickly and victoriously concluded by the exploitation of this pursuit. This was more a warning to his contemporaries than lasting advice to present-day strategists, because modern battles, fought with the aid of mechanised forces, allow the full exploitation of pursuit, unless a victorious Commander-in-Chief on the battlefield is too limited in his outlook—a criticism that cannot be applied to pupils of the Moscow Frunze Academy, the Berlin General Staff or the British Imperial Staff College.

Finally, Clausewitz concludes Volume I with such technical chapters as those on 'Retreat after a Lost Battle' and 'Night Combat'.

Because of his unassailable expositions and conclusions, Clausewitz has long been the dominating factor of the German General Staff. During the last war his influence upon the schematic mind of Wilhelm II's General Staff was not easily discernible, certainly not by Joffre, and even less by Foch who, in his own words, 'expected the war to go on far beyond 1919', which is most conclusive evidence that he did not understand the hereditary pupils of Clausewitz.

Improvements, however, upon Clausewitz inside the German General Staff became noticeable during this war, when Walter von Brauchitsch headed the German High Command, and Halder the General Staff. Though *Vom Kriege* was primarily in the mind of the Commander-in-Chief of the German High Command, he was also fully aware of the aids which technical progress and scientific thought had given him. He could thus break the dogma of Clausewitz, and embark upon the new fields opened up by the 'Armageddon of the Carburettor', leaving ill-informed opponents to puzzle over the unexpected moves born of a Clausewitz, 20th Century Edition!

The scene, however, has changed drastically since the winter of 1941 when Brauchitsch was dismissed from his command, and the civilian Adolf Hitler became Supreme Commander-in-Chief. Fortunately the Fuehrer had nothing but an industrious and laborious study of *Vom Kriege* to guide him, in which he has been helped by the former Lieutenant-Colonel, Erwin Rommel. The operations that led to Stalingrad, to the ensuing German retreats, and to the present hopeless position of the German Armies on Russia's original frontiers, are solely the result of Adolf

SCHARNHORST *was Clausewitz's instructor at the Military Academy. Created first General Staff Corps*

Hitler's blind and fanatic adherence to the didactic dogma of Clausewitz, and to the fact that for years the strategic treatises of the Prussian General von Clausewitz were also studied attentively by students at the Red Army Academy in Moscow. A leader, such as Hitler, who clings to the exclusive and narrow interpretation, has thus exposed himself to an enemy who not only has studied the same gospel of strategy, but who knows how to improve upon it. Marshal Stalin has long recognised the importance of a close study of Clausewitz. And today, while Brauchitsch is condemned to retirement, brilliant Soviet marshals such as Zhukov and Vassiliensky know best how to put into effect a more dynamic interpretation of the great master strategist.

The limitations of Hitler's study of the work, and the great attraction it had for him, can also be better understood when we remember that Clausewitz is the easiest subject for an ambitious political leader turning strategist to master. We should also remember that von Rundstedt is of the same school as Brauchitsch, and capable of interpreting Clausewitz. As the position on the Eastern Front has deteriorated, the more has Hitler been compelled to give a free hand to the one general who might save him from his fatal interpretation of the Prussian master.

NEW BOOKS

SOCIAL SECURITY IN NEW ZEALAND

By A. M. Finlay. *Whitcombe & Tombs.* 2s. 6d.

The Simple Guide series advises New Zealanders, not only on Social Security, but also on a wide variety of homely topics, notably weddings, party games, contract bridge, teacup reading, rock gardening, and ballroom dancing. From which it may be inferred that the system adumbrated by Sir William Beveridge, which has set all England by the ears, is as integral and familiar a feature of life down under as getting married or learning to waltz.

The British soldier in Italy, whose letter to his wife bore over-enthusiastic references to the local sisterhood, received a sharp reply, asking what charms they possessed that she lacked. His answer, it will be recalled, was : 'None, but what they have is here.' It was no doubt an important point, and a similar advantage is claimed by Mr. Finlay for his scheme over our own. In a word, it exists; it functions; whereas the Beveridge plan has still to 'suffer the compromise that attends the passage of legislation.'

However, on four counts alone, tentative comparisons may be made. First, the eleven types of benefit available to New Zealanders, including that for Maori War Veterans of 1870 (of whom two only survive), do not comprise marriage or funeral grants, though providing an allowance for orphans. We propose to vest the overall control in a single Ministry; they divide it among the Departments of Social Security, Health, Education, Marketing, and Internal Affairs. London will finance its plan to a larger extent out of ordinary revenue, and less from contributions, than Wellington, owing to our reliance on the flat, rather than the percentage, rate of levy—a system considered unjust by Mr. Finlay. On the relative generosity of the two schemes, he naturally finds it hard to pronounce. Certain payments in New Zealand are more handsome than ours, as are certain relaxations of the Means Test, while the prolongation of children's allowances from 16 to 18 in respect of higher education answers a well-worn and pertinent query. Beveridge, however, has compensations, and the cost of living in New Zealand, chiefly on account of rent and clothing, is notoriously high. Doubtless Social Security in both countries, for the present at any rate, will provide no more than a 'bearable' life. Mr. Priestley once claimed that if he had to be unemployed, he would rather lounge in Rio de Janeiro than in Jarrow. On this count, the victim of circumstance in the Antipodes may consider himself more fortunate than his counterpart in our cold and industrialised cities.

Opponents of Social Security, mistrustful of its effects upon fallible human beings, have already been vocal. The author does not disregard their challenge, but points to the inevitable birth of some such system as a result of the marriage of capitalism and the Anglo-Saxon tradition In brief, Social Security is evolutionary, not revolutionary.

The author speaks with pride of his country's pioneering past under a Labour Government, and with confidence in the future. Though the average age of New Zealanders is growing, thus expanding the cost of Social Security, certain benefits will continue to increase until 1970! May his hopes be fulfilled.

I. C. THIMANN

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By K. M. Panikkar. *Allen & Unwin.* 5s.

Mr. Panikkar, an Indian historian, is not anti-imperialist in the most uncompromising, trans-Atlantic meaning of the word. So he does not think that the interests of particular European powers, in particular parts of S.E. Asia, should simply be thrown on the political scrap-heap. On the other hand, he believes—and who does not?—that the British, Dutch and French Far Eastern Empires must be greatly altered after the war. He wants, instead of the old, slowly modifying, colonial connection, a new connection of advice, protection and partnership.

So far, so good. But trouble begins when, leaving first principles, you come to Mr. Panikkar's specific plan. This is how he sees it: an independent India—or rather a Triune Commonwealth of Pakistan, Hindustan and Burma—to be, with British support, the greatest among other independent, Southern Asiatic states; these states to be supported individually by the European powers concerned and the whole structure to rest on American and Chinese as well as Anglo-French-Dutch authority. The merit of the plan is its attempt to see the problem whole; its demerit is its host of assumptions, not the least of which is that Pakistan is the most likely solution of the Indian tangle. For if you assume Pakistan, you can assume a lot of things.

JAMES MONAHAN

THE STRUGGLE OF THE SERBS

By K. St. Pavlowitch. *The Standard Art Book Club.* 5s.

The book which disentangled Yugo-Slav wartime politics would render a service both to Yugo-Slavia and to British readers. Mr. Pavlowitch has not written such a book. His bias is too plain. His publication date is 1943 and his main subject is Yugo-Slav resistance to the Axis, yet in his relatively wide index the word 'partisan' does not once occur; 'Mihajilovic', on the other hand, is writ large and often. And although the reader is invited to see the present Yugo-Slavia against a certain political and historical background, that background shows no shadow of disagreement among well-intentioned Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Such naïve special pleading defeats its own purpose. By avoiding controversy it makes everything seem controversial. The reader may be lopsidedly sympathetic to Serbs, but when he is asked to take Serbia as virtually a synonym for Yugo-Slavia, his suspicions grow warm and his sympathy cools. In fact, had Mr. Pavlowitch made more of Yugo-Slavia and less of the Serbs' right to dominate that country, he would have helped the Serbs more; and he would have done something more valuable—he would have helped the larger cause of Yugo-Slav unity. As it is he has produced propaganda, in the sense in which the word is understood by the people who dislike it.

EASTERN MED

By B. J. Hurren. *Frederick Muller.* 6s.

The war continues to be generously documented by the books of diplomats, politicians, journalists and almost everyone else. Perhaps more generously than usefully. For all these commentators and observers may not, even if they could, tell the secrets which would be really worth knowing and only a few of them compensate by their manner for their lack of fresh matter. This book by Mr. Hurren is a case in point. It covers that chequered period in the Mediterranean war between the Wavell and Auchinleck offensives. It was evidently written by a man on the spot. Yet, beyond an entertaining anecdote or two, it provides little new either of fact or of observation; and its style is boisterous rather than sound, its arrangement casual rather than exact. Like the plates of an amateur juggler, Mr. Hurren's chapters, arguments and adjectives fly hopefully into the air; he does not always catch them as they come down. To try to find a pattern among the consequent fragments is a not very thankful task.

JAMES MONAHAN

Gwen Nelson, Reneé Ascherson and Charles Victor in She Stoops to Conquer (1937)

From *The Birmingham Repertory Theatre*, by T. C. Kemp. *Cornish Bros., Ltd.* 12s. 6d.

VOICE OF CIVILISATION

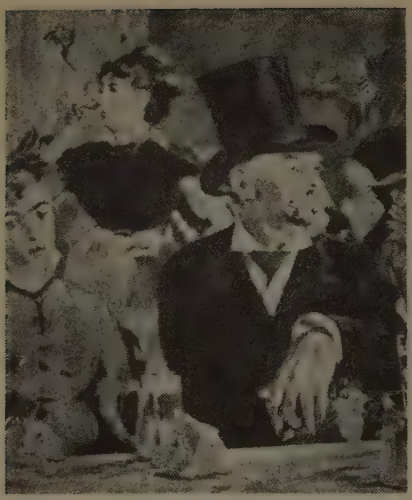
By Denys Thompson. *Frederick Muller.* 7s. 6d.

One of the most startling phenomena of this all too startling century has been the growth of advertising, with its enormous effect on the lives of people in this country and America in particular. *Voice of Civilisation* is an inquiry into advertising, designed to show the economics and methods of this all-pervading business, its influence on society and its place in a planned post-war world. It is a fascinating and valuable book, which well repays a little study.

Mr. Thompson sees advertising as the product of a lack of balance in our Western civilisation, where there has been an excessive development of competition for profit, to the frustration of other motives. This 'lopsidedness' has been made worse by advertising, which has 'helped to promote acquisition to the status of religion.' He suggests that the lack of intelligent interest in public affairs during the between-war years is closely bound up with this commercially-stimulated interest in tangible goods. Analysing the methods of advertising, he shows how fear, snobbery, sex, greed, uplift, pseudo-science, etc., all play their part; and that though direct falsehood is rare, there are many ways of telling lies other than by literal untruths.

In discussing the place of advertising in our post-war society, Mr. Thompson suggests that much might be achieved by teaching children to discriminate between 'informative' and 'persuasive' advertising. But the best hope for the removal of the worst features of the business lies, as he rightly points out, in an economic system of production where need is the guiding motive rather than profit.

R. MILES



EDOUARD MANET: *Café-Concert*
Gallery Books, No. 3. *Percy Lund Humphries & Co.* 4s. 6d.

BUILT BEFORE THE FLOOD

By H. S. Bellamy. *Faber & Faber.* 12s. 6d.

This book draws deserved attention to the general problem of the Tiahuanaco ruins situated high in the Bolivian Andes, for whose existence orthodox archæology is rather stumped for an explanation. It also provides an outline in Hans Hoerbiger's *Theory of Satellites,* which will be quite an awe-inspiring experience to those who feel at all strongly about the very early history of our Earth. Briefly, Mr. Bellamy, with Hoerbiger's help, claims that our moon had a predecessor, probably a captured planet. This was drawn nearer and nearer to the Earth, causing a girdle tide. The waters were drawn together in the tropical flood belt, which reached a height of about 12,600 feet in the latitude of Tiahuanaco at the time when the amazing Calendar Gate was made, and later rising about 700 feet more, submerging the surrounding city, Tiahuanaco was at sea-level and there were flying fish at what is now a remote mountain fastness. For after the disintegration of the satellite, the ocean fell and the Andean plateau shot up, as it were. This theory obviously makes the ruins of immense age. Mr. Bellamy proves all this with a wealth of fascinating detail and much erudition. A strange and attractively produced book. But to appreciate the analysis of the symbols of the Calendar Gate, I warn you that you have to feel very strongly indeed about calendars.

JAMES EASTWOOD

TOWARDS THE NEW ITALY

By T. L. Gardini. *Lindsay Drummond.* 9s. 6d.

The author of this book, which has the eloquent commendation of H. G. Wells, is not merely an anti-Fascist who tells us what took place behind the scenes of his stricken country; he points the way towards a better future, although his ideas of internationalising not only the former Italian colonies but those of other nations will scarcely meet with approval in the ranks of most of the United Nations, quite apart from what the natives would say if they were to be asked. The rebirth of Italian democracy is being impeded, as we see, in the countryside whose politically apathetic inhabitants are providing shelter for Fascist refugees from the towns. This is only one of the serious problems with which the builders of the new Italy will be faced. But the Italians are an intelligent people and many of them must have laughed at such declarations as that printed in the *Gazzetta del Popolo* in February of last year, when it said that the death of the Archbishop of Reggio in Calabria, which was caused, of course accidentally, in a British air raid, proved 'the typical British hatred of everything which forms part of the Catholic Church.' Some of the interesting reproductions from Italian cartoons are equally fatuous, such as one purporting to show that American airmen are recruited from the prisons (and not mentioning that the prison population in the States consists largely of the compatriots of Al Capone). But laughter prevails, as the woman who tells a friend that she had her bath repaired under three months by marrying the plumber; and the picture of a husband, returning unexpectedly and catching sight of a pair of legs projecting from underneath the bed. 'Come out this minute,' he commands, 'and tell me where you have had your boots soled.'

HENRY BAERLEIN

J. B. YEATS. LETTERS TO HIS SON, W. B. YEATS AND OTHERS, 1869—1922

Edited with Memoir by Joseph Hone
Faber & Faber. 16s.

If there is no longer a full-hearted interest in *belles-lettres* and miscellaneous collections of correspondence of the great and the near-great, literary or otherwise, it may be for want of more leisure time. Also it is quite possible that our peeping into boudoirs, dusty casket letters and hitherto unpublished papers to revel in frank confessions must needs take a back seat while we concentrate daily on the more vital problems of this war. No matter; these stimulating letters of the Irish artist, critic and writer, J. B. Yeats, are a tempting enough dish to distract us for the time being.

W. B. Yeats has described his father as 'one of the most natural of the fine minds that I have known; and had his facility for expressing the wisdom and wit of his mind in conversation been less, more attention might have been paid to his painting.' The poet's diagnosis of his father's painting career might easily apply to J. B. Yeats' letter-writing, for, if anything, this collection goes to prove that a brilliant conversationalist may not necessarily write as spontaneously as he talks. His letters are engaging, mellow, but too often elaborately written, diffuse and repetitious. Although they may reflect the vision of a man with remarkable insight, a truly distinguished intellectual and independent thinker of his time, they fail to captivate us completely. They might have, if less space had been given to the minutiæ of personal matters which could only have importance to those directly concerned at the time. More ruthless editing would have helped. As for the brighter spots—we have to go skipping about for them—there is J. B. Yeats' spritely wit or delicious tit-bits of contemporary gossip; his rich erudition or discerning commentary on the arts philosophy and politics, etc. The reader is able to note the marked influence his nonconformist theories have had on the son through those letters which deal with the father's uncompromising stand on the solitary integrity of the artist, the particular stress he laid on distrust in the poetry of ideas.

J. B. Yeats was not a mystic like W. B. Yeats, nor did he tie himself down to the Celtic 'back to mythology' movement in Ireland which the latter so strongly advocated. The father was a realist, perhaps more sceptical than his son; and he was too busy living to settle down to any deliberate planning of his own career. His rôle as mentor to family and literary friends suited him very well. When he went to New York in 1908, never to return, J. B. found as willing listeners there as he had back in Bedford Park, in London and Dublin. To the end he wrote advice to his famous son. His letters were sometimes most touching, for he mentioned the new advances he was about to make. He never lost his optimism for his work any more than he did his love of talking. G. K. Chesterton spoke of him at eighty as 'perhaps the best talker I ever knew.' In John Sloan's picture, 'Petitpas', we see him as, no doubt, J. B. would like to be remembered, sitting at his favourite table in the old Petitpas restaurant in West 29th Street, New York, surrounded by an intent group of eight men and women hanging on to every word of his sparkling conversation.

RICHARD McLAUGHLIN

VENEZUELAN GILT

By Leonard Caro. *Hurst & Blackett.* 16s.

I may be old-fashioned, but I expect no more of the traveller than to travel and, having travelled, to describe and portray. Mr. Caro is well able to do both. When, however, he forsakes the rôle of traveller, becoming historian at second-hand, and denunciator of diplomatic and political morals, his record tends to lose both interest and unity. It is not that Mr. Caro's accusations are ill-founded; it is simply that they have been made before, and by more practised writers.

It is scarcely correct to claim that 'all Venezuela lies between the covers of this book.' It is, in fact, a plain unvarnished tale, refreshingly free from literary pretensions, of life in a remote mining valley of the Andes. There, as elsewhere, the *mestizo* lives in unbelievable filth, a prey to rats, snakes, cockroaches, evil odours, dysentery and syphilis; no activity may flourish without the levy exacted by the local *cacique*. Yet, despite his traditional cruelty and immorality, the native is not without his homely virtues. Here, *every prospect pleases and only man is vile*—in reverse. It is, however, a poor advertisement for civilisation that our mining engineers can be tempted from their Scottish and Cornish heaths to this damp and malarial solitude.

Mr. Caro is at his best in describing primitive institutions and habits: the railway trip from Tucacas to El Hacha: the incredible village of Aroa (with photographs): and the sexual irregularities of Serafina (charitably attributed to her shortsightedness)—adding the timely reminder that poverty, ignorance, disease and corruption are indivisible.

I. C. THIMANN

SHAKE IT AGAIN

By W. Buchanan Taylor. *Heath Cranton.* 15s.

W. Buchanan-Taylor has published a sequel to that successful book of reminiscences, *Shake the Bottle*. The mixture is as appetising as before. Again 'Bucky' writes about the world of sport, newspapers and theatres which he knows so well; and, this time, he's shaken in a strong dash about other parts of the world which he seems to have explored pretty thoroughly too. But, for me, the best parts of this new book—as they were in the last—are the chapters on circus freaks. 'Bucky' must surely be the greatest living expert on the subject. He seems to know the life history and the lowdown on them all. To anybody who's interested in the abnormal—and who isn't?—*Shake it Again* is worth the money for the insight it gives into human curiosities alone.

MACDONALD HASTINGS

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FABER & FABER

THE EAGLE AND THE DOVE

By V. Sackville-West. *Michael Joseph.* 10s. 6d.

The eagle was St. Teresa of Avilla; the dove, St. Thérèse of Lisieux. Beyond identity of their Christian names, the fact that both were Carmelites, and their stupendous legacy of miracles, they had little in common. Indeed, it is as a study in contrasts that Miss Sackville-West presents their remarkable biographies. Teresa was a sixteenth century Castillian, patrician to the finger-tips; Thérèse was a nineteenth century French bourgeoise. Teresa was a woman of determination, ability and the zeal of a reformer. She made enemies. Did not the Papal Nuncio describe her as disobedient and contumacious? Thérèse was all sweetness. She could not have said 'Boo!' to a goose, whereas Teresa could say 'Goose!' to the Devil. Satan had perched himself on Teresa's breviary to prevent her from saying her prayers, and she had learned that, while he might be put to flight by the sign of the cross, more effectively still with holy water, there was nothing he disliked so much as contempt. Thérèse was gay, with the unconscious gaiety of a child; she could never have exclaimed with Teresa 'God deliver me from sullen saints!' Teresa had not, like Thérèse, pined for the religious life. 'I was most hostile to being a nun,' she has recorded. Thérèse, both of whose parents had been frustrated in their desire for the cloisters, offered herself as a postulant at the age of nine, and at fifteen, so eager was she for early admission to Carmel, virtually held up the Pontiff in his own Saint Peter's, having to be forcibly removed by the Papal Guards. Teresa's life was a battle; Thérèse sought for nothing but mystical union with the Beloved. Towards the end, asked by the Almoner if she was resigned to dying, she replied that resignation was necessary only for living. Both had their spiritual exaltations, but Thérèse's little experiences cannot be compared with Teresa's awe-inspiring ecstacies, raptures, visions and levitations. The two women were truly of different fibre, and Miss Sackville-West shrewdly likens them to a Velasquez opposed to an oleograph. After death Thérèse, as she had promised, sent down a shower of roses; it has been falling miraculously on the faithful ever since. Teresa, too, performed posthumous miracles, but there is nothing in that soft descent of petals to compare with the grim, ghastly series of exhumations, translations and mutilations wherewith the sixteenth century Spanish devotee fought for virtue out of Teresa's dead body. Miss Sackville-West recalls as an excessive example of ardour the case of the Portuguese lady who, on being allowed to kiss the foot of St. Francis Xavier, bit a toe and carried it away in her mouth. It was something like that during Teresa's prolonged obsequies. The bright Spanish sunshine casts sombre shadows on Teresa's story. The life of Thérèse lacks this fierce light and shade and—to the sceptic at any rate—contains rather too many roses.

PHILIP MACER-WRIGHT

WALKING WITH FANCY

By E. L. Grant Watson. *Country Life.* 10s. 6d.

War has brought us so much nearer the soil that instructive books on farming and food production are more familiar than fine writing about nature; and Mr. Grant Watson's naïve approach to farming facts, with a certain self-consciousness in the telling (in such a title, for instance, as 'Pasture 'Mid the Beasts'), may chill the reader's first pleasure at seeing and handling so attractive a book. But the chill disappears when Mr. Grant Watson writes as a naturalist of slow-worms, moles and razorbills; of wrens huddling in the cavities of a wall for the night; of the training of fleas and the mating of slugs; and of butterflies, closely observed. Mr. Tunnicliffe's scraper-board illustrations make this a beautiful book to keep.

P. R. WYLIE

MAY PUBLICATIONS

TEN YEARS TO ALAMEIN
By MATTHEW HALTON

As European correspondent for the *Toronto Star* the author had a roving commission to go anywhere in Europe where 'big' news might 'break'. From 1933 to 1943 he watched the deterioration of Democracy and its gradual re-emergence, culminating in the victory of El Alamein. As a Canadian, his attitude to these ten tragic years is completely objective and he presents a living, moving picture of the dramatic episodes of our contemporary history; while the vitality of his writing makes his story quite irresistible.

Frontispiece and Maps. 12*s.* 6*d.*

STALIN AND ETERNAL RUSSIA
By WALTER KOLARZ

The author's main thesis is the continuity between pre- and post-revolutionary Russian history and the historic individuality of the Russian people. He also makes a special study of two problems: the National minorities and recent developments in Soviet literature.

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LINDSAY DRUMMOND LTD.
6 Buckingham Street, W.C.2

SPLENDOURS AND MISERIES

By Sacheverell Sitwell. *Faber & Faber.* 18s.

Mr. Sitwell muses on the war with profound introspection and infinite complexity. His conclusions are unhelpful. Indeed, it is hard to discover what they are. He has nothing new to say and he has a maddeningly affected way of saying it. Unlike those who can expound the intricate so that it becomes clear, Mr. Sitwell has a genius for making the straightforward incomprehensible by wrapping it in a maze of intricate phraseology. But it is a beautiful maze. He weaves into the pattern all the range of his reading and experience which has carried him into many remote times and places.

On this basis he builds his book. The theme . . . humanity is sick unto death, and is starting on a not too hopeful cure. The cure begins at Vichy. It consists in a survey of the heights and the depths to which man has attained and these are set against each other to draw no particular conclusion. Like the preachers of old who discanted so vividly on hell, but were rather nebulous about heaven, Mr. Sitwell is more convincing about the miseries than the splendours. He has the sublime artistry of painting horror in many words and can conjure up a tank battle in the Ukraine, famine stalking the Athens backstreets, or the Inquisition burning men and women in sixteenth-century Goa in a manner that fascinates even while it repels. There is something here of Edgar Allan Poe. The compensating splendours are by contrast remote and unreal. Gems in porcelain from eighteenth-century Germany; an ecstasy on the silken fabrics of seventeenth-century Japan (why just Germany and Japan?); some fine writing on the Bach Fugue . . . as a miscellany all this provides a mine of delightful, fascinating and informative reading. But Mr. Sitwell might have done better to take some of his splendours along with his miseries out of the present. A reference to the crew of the 'San Demetrio' or the 'Jervis Bay'; a word about the youthful pilots in the Kent skies in 1940; a mention perhaps of the loyalty that sent the fighters of the Underground to death by inches rather than betray their friends; and of this there is nothing in the book which might have indicated the cure more clearly than a disquisition on Kändler's Rococo Harlequins.

GEORGE EDINGER

LATEST FROM U.S.A.

EVIDENCE of American tightening-up on draft deferments, and determined efforts to provide personnel for armed forces can be seen daily in the long columns of men who emerge from subways and buses on one of New York's famous Avenues.

Meantime forecasts of facilities that may be expected to become everyday things in American post-war world continue to be numerous. Radio as a means of making train travel safer is to be tried out within the next few months, on one of the large Eastern railroads, which is proposing to install experimentally complete sending and receiving system over two hundred miles stretch of its main line. Train engineers will be able to talk with engineers driving other trains, or with any station en route, and even have a few words with brakeman in caboose (luggage van).

Paper that is not affected by water, and can be hung up to dry like a handkerchief, and used again and again, is being used for masks in industrial plants where powdery substances are produced to protect workers from inhaling toxic dust.

Parachutes being made of special crêpe kraft paper which is replacing nylon can carry a hundred pounds of food or equipment and be dropped from an aeroplane travelling nearly two hundred miles an hour. In future, tents, clothing bags that will resist natural moisture of vegetables packed in them, bags that will keep flour and sugar unharmed even in damp places, are regarded as possibilities.

A service for private fliers, as comprehensive as the help provided by automobile clubs for motorists, is being envisioned in programmes announced by National Aeronautic Association, which plans to furnish maps, routing service airport directories, and guides to approved landing repair and hotel facilities. To lay the groundwork for expansion which the aircraft industry expects to follow after the war, the Association formulated a programme which includes, besides the improvement of aviation services, the study and promotion of national airport plans and simplified traffic rules and the strengthening of local N.A.A. groups.

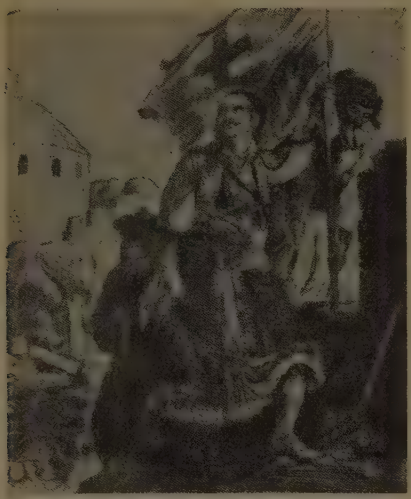
Television is expected to become a post-war billion dollar industry, according to Thomas F. Joyce, Radio Corporation of America executive, who forecasts that within ten years of full commercialisation (which will be the potential source of four and a half million jobs) television should be available to over a hundred million people.

DORIS SHERIDAN, New York
Exclusive Cable to *World Review*

CROSS-SECTION

OF THE WORLD'S PRESS

A. Crossman



Greek National Independence Day, 25 March 1821: Chieftain Kephalas planting the flag of liberty upon the walls of Tripolitza (Peloponnese) HELLAS

Where are we Going?

WHO knows today what an Allied victory would mean? Of the four major Allies, two are democracies, but, apart from the general conviction that people should be allowed to settle their own affairs, how much of the formulae of democracy do the Americans and British regard as articles of export? To take a specific case, should we recommend the Germans to set up a replica of the Weimar Republic, or the French to restore the Third Republic—supposing that our advice were asked for in either case? And, if not, what do we recommend? Moreover, the other two major Allies do not, in their own affairs, practise anything that we should recognise as democracy. Some allege that the real preference of the western Allies is for legitimist, conservative, monarchist governments in Europe. One may think that it is not so. But can any one of us say, of full knowledge, that it *is* not so? We want governments to be democratic, yes. But we want them to avoid the mistakes that were made in the name of democracy after the last war. And where does that leave us? Does anyone know?

. . . . . .

Fascism After the War?

THAT pressure, it will be objected, is about to be lifted by a victory for the United Nations. I am not so certain. I have the suspicion that the Nazi alternatives, diabolical though they are, have far too much of the logic of events in them to be brushed aside by the military defeat of Hitler. If we are realistic, we shall recognise, even though it increases the difficulty of our task, that there is a great deal in the circumstances of our century that leads straight to Fascism. The enormous development in the technique of propaganda and advertising, in the power to sway the minds of people in the mass, plays straight into the hands of the would-be dictator or any other manipulator who, for large ends or small, seeks to muddy the waters of democracy. The growth of large-scale industry, the need for gigantic aggregations of capital, the implications of a maximum employment policy—all these create the danger of a concentration of economic power. The technique of modern war, with its emphasis on the possession of certain complicated weapons which only a handful of highly industrialised states can produce, makes the small nations, or even the league of small nations, quite helpless, and compels the Great Powers to devote quite unprecedented proportions of their resources to the barren purposes of war. We cannot abolish these things. We cannot dodge them. We cannot cancel the invention of the radio and aircraft or unlearn the technique of mass production. But if we accept their existence, we must also accept their consequences. Propaganda *plus* the concentration of economic power *plus* Blitzkrieg technique add up to Fascism; or they may be made to add up to something new that will be compatible with democratic ideals. But whatever else they add up to, they certainly do not add up to the sort of democracy that our fathers thought of. The plain truth is that Hitler has an answer to the problems of the twentieth century and we, as yet, have not. It follows that whatever happens in the present war, Hitler will be hot on our heels for the rest of our lives. We shall have to think very fast, and run very fast, to keep ahead of him. One slip, one stumble, and he will be on our necks.

GEOFFREY CROWTHER, Editor of *The Economist* (London) in *Foreign Affairs* (U.S.A.)

Italians Must Emigrate

THE question of population pressure is outstanding among long-range Italian economic problems. Italy's population has been increasing steadily. Today it may be estimated at some 46,000,000, or over 10 per cent more than the population of France. But the problem of over-population is not so great as it appeared 20 years ago. The rate of increase is becoming less rapid. The net surplus of births over deaths has been sharply reduced. It is only a little more than one-half what it was some 15 years ago. A yearly population increase of a quarter of a million indicates the continued vitality of the Italian people and not the existence of an unmanageable problem. And the need for manpower to fill the gaps caused by the present conflict and to help in the task of reconstruction will be such that no great issue of over-population could arise for several years. Within the limits noted, however, a population problem does exist, and it must find at least a partial solution outside the boundaries of Italy. There is no need to speculate on the likelihood of drastic changes in United States immigration laws or on the desirability of mass emigration to northern Australia. Europe, and some Latin American countries, will probably present adequate opportunities for Italian emigration. An understanding with France could offer most of the needed relief, and it is indeed gratifying to observe that, according to some of her most responsible spokesmen, France realises the need for a sound immigration policy. 'When France is free again,' André Istel has written, 'a carefully considered liberal immigration policy would be the most speedy and effective method for increasing the French population. Population is the most vital French problem.'

MARIO EINAUDI in *Foreign Affairs* (U.S.A.)

The Cabinet

LORD LATHAM had the last word in the Lords debate on the control of land. It was ominous, he said, that Lord Beaverbrook should have been chosen to defend the Government. The contrast between Lord Woolton, who spoke first for the Government, and Lord Beaverbrook, who spoke last, was remarkable. Lord Woolton was unhappy, uncomfortable, on the defensive; Lord Beaverbrook was cock-a-hoop. The Minister of Reconstruction was appointed last year to act for Mr. Churchill in the making of post-war plans; but it is the Lord Privy Seal who, at the pinch, speaks the real mind of the innermost Ministerial circles. Lord Beaverbrook's loud harangue on Thursday was not only ominous because it did no justice to the intelligence of his hearers by its irrelevances. It was ominous because he does not believe in planning. It was ominous because he is the Prime Minister's right-hand man. It was ominous because he made confidence in Mr. Churchill's war leadership the test of the Government's preparations for peace. He played the Coupon as a trump card. The events of last week were very significant. On Monday, Lord Woolton still had hopes of progress; but between then and Wednesday they faded. Other men had their way. There was Sir John Anderson who reads (or misreads) the expert briefs of the Treasury as arguments against bold decisions. There was Mr. Lyttelton, who speaks well on planning but does not want the control of industry that goes with the control of land. Above all, there was Lord Beaverbrook, who refuses to understand what it is all about.

Observer (London)

A Day in the Life of a Newspaper

AN average day goes something like this. The assignment desk has been as busy as a Fascist trying to find excuses today in Italy. Three or four ladies have sliced the throats of their beloved spouses, and all have stated that they did it because they loved them. Bessie Beadyeyes has come in from Hollywood, draping herself tastefully over her luggage at Grand Central Station, having made sure—before the photographer shot—that a sufficient acreage of nylon hose was exposed. Fiorello LaGuardia has reluctantly posed for a picture directing traffic during a daytime air raid drill. Two babies have been snatched out of carriages while their mothers were snatching themselves a couple of innocent scotch and sodas. The phones on the city desk have been ringing constantly, and George Schmidt, the assignment editor, has torn out the last three remaining hairs from his head trying to cover all the jobs. My desk is loaded with pictures, and I'm wondering how I am going to do justice to them in the limited amount of space at my disposal. One phone rings. A second phone rings. One call is from AP, the other from Acme. Both callers are breathless with the announcement that the Navy has decided to release immediately the pictures on the latest sea battle. And they are marvellous! They'll be started toward the *Daily News* in fifteen minutes. They're knockouts! The battle pictures arrive and they live up to advance notices. As a result, the three throat-slitting ladies get a half column each, the missing babies get one column, and the shy little violet from City Hall goes into the discord. Bessie Beadyeyes? She'll probably wind up decorating an engraver's boudoir.

WILLIAM S. WHITE, Jr., in *Journalism Quarterly* (U.S.A.)

'If Europe Fa s—All Fail'

A SCHEME for the integration of the European Continent as an essential part of world order and security, to be achieved through regional development, has been elaborated in a most effective manner by an eminent British economist and political thinker. Sir Walter Layton, conscious that we are living in a time of greatness, warned the United Nations that if after victory they make no serious attempt at new progress they will miss a very great opportunity. Whether world order can come about depends primarily on what happens in Europe. 'If Europe fails,' Sir Walter says, 'all fail. If Europe's problems can be solved, there is hope that the problem can be solved everywhere.'

Unity in Europe is, according to Sir Walter, the crux of the whole problem. He gives five reasons for this. First, he says, 'the anarchic politics of Europe have given rise to two world wars.' Sir Walter therefore believes that the lines of European union should be settled in a convention of the European peoples themselves before any final peace is made with the main enemy. Thus for some time after the cessation of hostilities, Germany should be dealt with under the terms of an armistice which would not make any final territorial settlements, for terms of a lasting peace can be established only after order has been restored and passions have cooled.

The second reason given by Sir Walter is: 'Reconstruction will be unduly prolonged if it is left entirely to the efforts of individual countries.' No one today can quarrel with his third reason that 'no permanent solution of the boundary questions of Europe is possible so long as boundaries are limits of an area of absolute sovereignty and the walls of each country's fortress.' The fourth reason follows logically on the third: 'If Europe returns to its pre-war régime, there is also no satisfactory solution of the minorities problem even by the harsh device of a large-scale transfer of populations.'

The fifth point he makes concerns security. 'It is essential,' he says, 'that Europe should build up her own internal security. At the outset, the peace will be preserved by the authority of the Big Three. But this is a very provisional measure both for the policemen and for those who are policed.' Sir Walter realises that world peace would not be achieved 'if Europe were taken under the wing of either Russia or England separately.'

Free Europe

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U.S. v. British Building

A SURVEY of American methods in building construction, and in the use of equipment and materials, has been made by an expert Mission appointed by the Minister of Works (Lord Portal) and its report has just been published (H.M. Stationery Office—4d.).

. . . . . .

The Mission collected data dealing with relative costs which show that the average output per man hour is greater in the United States than in this country, but they were satisfied, from observance of work in progress as well as from a close examination of methods of organisation, that the considerable differences disclosed in respect of production cost cannot be wholly accounted for in the speed at which the individual operative works. Nor can it be explained by the assumption that the American operative is a better workman than the British. The reasons, the Mission say, are more fundamental and can be traced to the different tempo existing in—and indeed expected of—the whole industry. The different tempo is made possible by improved organisation. The speed with which work proceeds in all stages of an American building job impressed the Mission. They were also struck by the steady 'pacing' of the work from inception to completion. They saw no indication that the American operative works harder or faster than the British, but it is clear (they say) that the striving of designers and organisers after greater economy and efficiency would be fruitless without the co-operation of the worker.

. . . . . .

The Mission saw no evidence that factory-production of entire houses or parts of houses during the war has effected a saving in cost as compared with site construction, but they were assured that there should be a measurable saving once quantity production is in full swing. This forecast was made more particularly in respect of houses of steel frame construction, with steel cladding.

Labour (March 1944)
(Official organ of the Trades Union Congress)

New Anthem—Partial Success

'ADVANCE Australia Fair', the not-too-popular tune which officialdom has long been trying to persuade this Dominion to adopt as its anthem, is to be played in cinemas throughout Australia as a result of discussion between the Minister for Information and representatives of leading cinemas. Some time ago the Australian Broadcasting Commission tried to find a more suitable composition for an Australian anthem, but efforts were unavailing and the song has been adopted as the signature tune to news broadcasts. It seems that anthems will play a prominent part

Every day is 'Labour' Day in Nazi Europe.
THE WINNIPEG TRIBUNE

in entertainment programmes as already the American National Anthem is played as well as 'God Save the King', and now we are to have this local patriotic touch. At patriotic concerts the anthem of the country for which the concert is being held is always played as a mark of respect, and on one occasion five anthems had to be stood through. *Parade*

No

CONTRARY to what the British press is saying, the Polish Government has not debated at recent meetings relations with the Soviet Union.

Free Europe

'A Poisonous Rag'

MR. BRACKEN: I am afraid I cannot agree with the hon. Lady. This paper contains attacks on England which are worthy of Goebbels. It has insulted the British troops who have rescued Ethiopia, and in my opinion it is a poisonous rag.

Our Answer

Mr. Bracken, the Minister of Information, did not attempt to refute any of our statements; he merely accused us of attempting to defend Ethiopia by blackening the reputation of Britain. We would point out that for the policies against which we have felt it our duty to protest, the people of Britain have had little, if any, share of responsibility. These policies have been carried out by Governments, to a large extent without the public being aware of them till after the event. *New Times and Ethiopia News*

WAR IN TWO CONTINENTS

A consignment of sheets arriving at a leading store!
DRAPER'S RECORD

'Quick! Close the door! I've got a maid!'
NEW YORKER

Fishy

A PROFESSOR at London University recently speaking on the subject of the reform of English spelling suggested that 'fish' should be spelt 'ghoti'. This, he went on to explain quite seriously, was justified by pointing out that according to ordinary pronunciation 'gh' was the sound of 'f' as in 'rough', 'o' in 'women' sounded as 'i', and 'ti' in 'nation' was the same as the 'sh' in fish. Nobody quite knew the answer to this, until someone wrote to *The Times* and related that a foreigner, after complaining to two English professors of the capricious values of the English alphabet, asked them what 'ghoti' spelt. One, naturally, said it spelt 'fish'. But the other observed that 'ghoti' was not a word at all, because all the letters were silent—'gh' as in 'though', the 'o' as in 'journey' and the 't' as in 'castle'.

Trek

Delay in Ontario

IN Sarnia, Ont., Ethel Trott sued Elmer Mott for breach of promise, complained that he had been putting it off ever since 1908.

Time (U.S.A.)

Hats Off?

To the Editors of 'The Harrovian'.

DEAR SIRS,—At the risk of being considered pedantic and ridiculous, I wish to ask why it has now become the practice of Harrovians to remove their hats when passing an Old Harrovian walking with another member of the School. The chief pleasure for an Old Harrovian when returning to the Hill is to be able to mingle with present Harrovians. Does not this innovation accentuate the impression that he is a stranger?

C. A. CARLISLE

[*We understand that the Harrovian custom is to raise the hat in salute to a lady accompanied by a member of the School, and that raising the hat to a member of the male sex is a matter of personal choice and courtesy.*—EDS.]

The Harrovian

Positive and Negative

AT the University of Texas, the opening class in an English literature course was attended by thirty girls, two boys named Love and Loveless.

Time (U.S.A.)

Assault on PAIN

The fear of pain is a legacy from the dark ages. Anaesthetics have robbed modern surgery of its terrors, but the lesser, though still wearing, pains of every day remain — headache, toothache, rheumatism, neuralgia and so on.

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Venomous?

SIR,—Your reporting arouses my constant admiration, but I fear that I must have spoken indistinctly at the Indian Famine meeting yesterday. I am made to attribute to John Morley a statement that we had brought up the Indians 'on a diet of venom'; actually I said 'on Mill and Bentham'.

Letter to Editor, *The Birmingham Post*

Anna Dorothea is No Lady

WHEN the news came through that Warrant Officer Anna Dorothea Kruger was a prisoner of war in Germany, a South African sub-editor not unnaturally put up the headline, 'Woman Prisoner's Message from Zeesen'. It has since transpired that Anna Dorothea Kruger, of the President Steyn Regiment, is 6 feet tall, weighs 200 lbs., and has other unfeminine characteristics. It appears that his parents were determined that one of their children should bear their mother's name. So the Warrant Officer, as the last child, got those feminine names which have since caused him no end of trouble. *South Africa*

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The Duration?

EVEN Mr. Churchill gives us hope that by 1945 or 1946 we may be within sight of the turning-point. But the Ministry of Labour and National Service, judging by Form FG. 11, is expecting a long war. 'The physical requirements for a member of a stirrup pump team,' it says, 'are regarded as—fair sight (with glasses, if worn) and hearing, ability to work a stirrup pump, to carry a bucketful of water for twenty-five years on level ground and to climb two flights of stairs at a reasonable pace without distress.' Those who kick the bucket will be disqualified. *The Lancet*

Time Theory

A BOY asks his father the meaning of the word 'Boss'. The father replies: 'My son, a boss is a man who comes to the office before your father when your father is late, and comes late when your father is early.' *Vatan* (Turkey)

All Done By 'Saints'

IF you know which 'saint' to invoke, life presumably could be very smooth. I cull from the *Universe*, the Roman Catholic journal, this list of specific duties performed by 'saints':

'St. Apollonia for toothache, St. Gracian for lost things, St. Ursula for girls, St. Nicholas for schoolboys and St. Aya for sufferers from unjust lawsuits. St. Guido for spies'—this is probably a misprint, says the journal.

'Then there is St. Nicholas for thieves, St. John Nepomucen for running water, also St. Adrian for brewers, St. Hunna for washerwomen, St. Maurice for infantrymen and St. Martha for housewives.'

If these people are really saints, they must have got beyond the stage of being badgered to aid people with toothaches and to supplant the function of the lost property office of Scotland Yard.

Psychic News

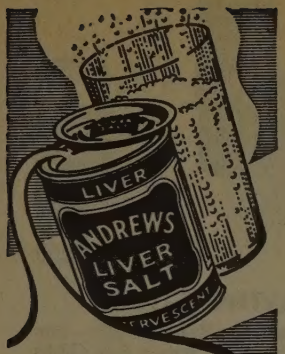
Refreshing?

The Passing of the European Age.

By Eric Fischer.

Refreshingly new concept of the evolution of western civilisation and the transfer of centres of culture from Europe to other continents. 'Fascinating stuff.'—*The New Yorker*, $2.50.

Ad. by Harvard University Press in *Foreign Affairs* (U.S.A.)



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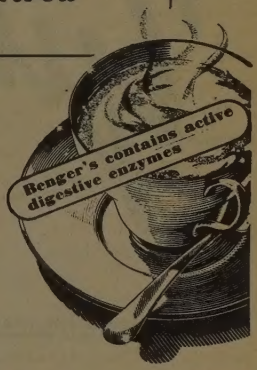

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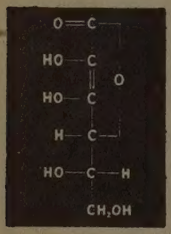

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